

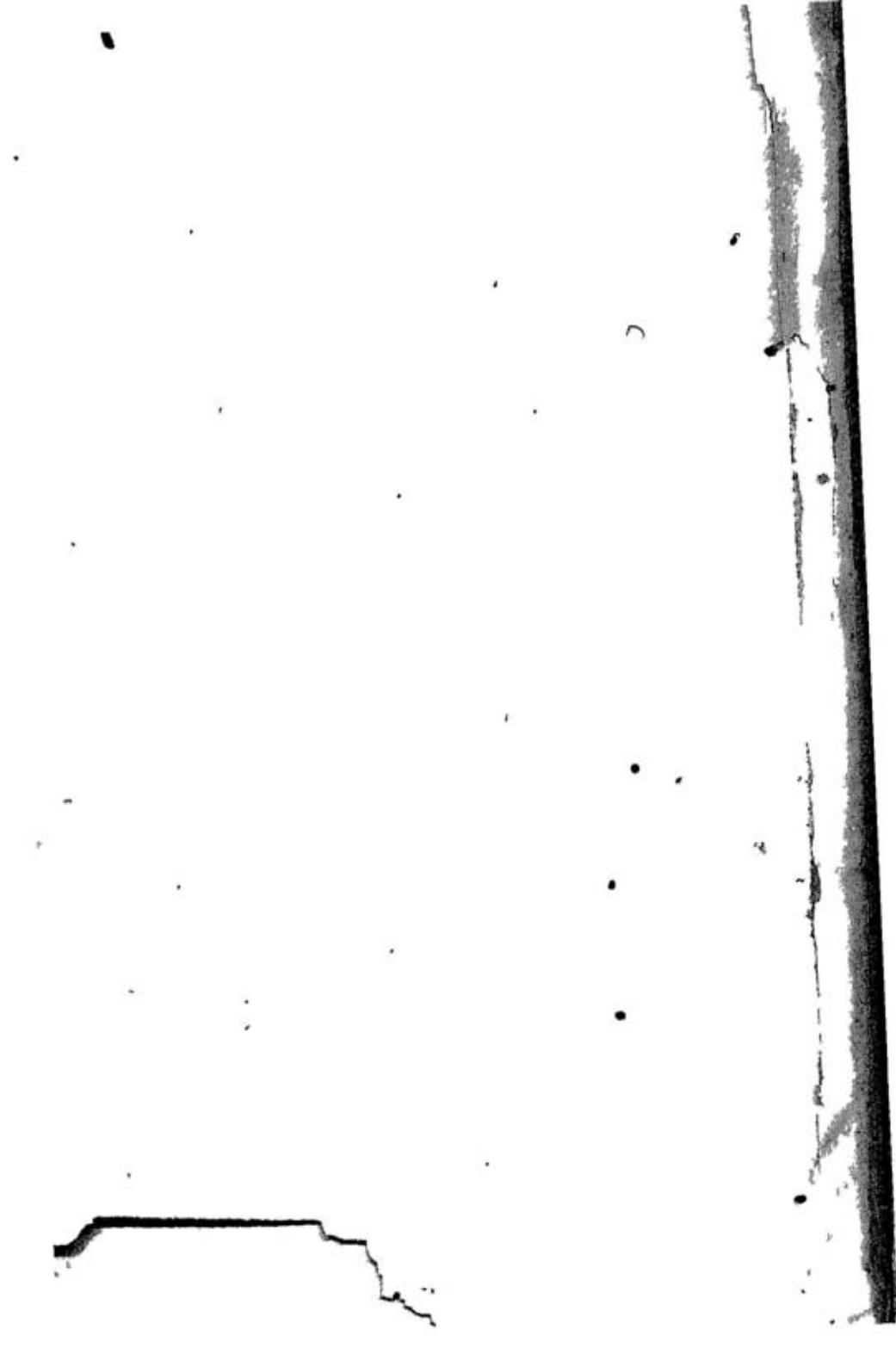
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MESOPOTAMIA AND PERSIA
UNDER THE MONGOLS,
IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY A.D.

19963

From the *Nuzhat-al-Kulub* of *Hamid-Allah Mustawfi*.

BY

G. LE STRANGE.



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P R E F A C E.

THE Council of the Royal Asiatic Society having decided to republish the present paper ~~separately~~ as one of the Asiatic Monographs, a new Map has been drawn on a larger scale than the one given in the *Journal* for January, 1902 (p. 73), where the names were found to be indistinctly written. I may take this opportunity of adding a few corrections which have come to notice since the paper was first printed, in addition to those given below on page 115 (p. 766 of the *Journal*), the first of which (on the Urmiah Lake) refers to p. 38, note 1, of the present pagination.

In chapter 7, describing Rüm (p. 48, line 28, and p. 259 of the *Journal*), the Castle of Awnik will be found marked, to the east of Erzerum, on the great Map of Armenia drawn by Mr. H. F. B. Lynch. On the same page (two lines from below) Zübarkî should be Divriğî (i.e. Tephrike, the Paulician capital); and for Dhülü Davalü is the true reading, a place situated a few miles south-east of Kaysariyah; these places are frequently mentioned by Ibn Bibî, an historian recently edited by Professor Houtsma, whom I have to thank for these and other corrections that he has been good enough to send me. Kâb or Gâb (p. 49, eight lines from below, and p. 260 of the *Journal*), not Kât, is the true reading, as given in Ibn Bibî, and it lay between Tükât and Zîlah. Zamandû (p. 50, line 10, and p. 261 of the *Journal*) is mentioned by Yâkût and Ibn Bibî and in the Tzamandos

of the Byzantines ; Kadūk (not *Kadūl*) is the modern Geduk to the east of Kaysarīyah ; Tūz Aghāch (not *Tür Aghāch* or *Tamar Aghāch*) is also given in Ibn Bibī, and lay near Kīr Shahr in the Salt District.

In chapter 14, describing Kirmān, the correction for the position of Sirjān (p. 76, three lines from below, and p. 530 of the *Journal*) has already been given on p. 115 (p. 766). Shākhīn, not *Sākhīs*, etc. (p. 81, line 5, and p. 535 of the *Journal*), is the true reading as given by Major Sykes. It lay south of Kāyīn (*Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 406). The position of Tabas Masīnān (p. 81, line 17) can now be fixed, for the place was visited by Major Sykes (*loc. cit.*, p. 397). It lies about fifty miles east of Birjand ; it is still known by the old name, but is now surnamed, from being mostly inhabited by Sunnis, Tabas Sunnī-Khānah.

In chapter 17, on Khurāsān, it may be mentioned that the Amīr Chūpān (p. 83, line 26, and p. 734 of the *Journal*) was the celebrated Regent of Mongol Persia after the death of Uljaytū, during the minority of Sultān Abu Sa'īd. Further, a stupid mistake must be rectified, where, on p. 86, line 10 (and p. 737 of the *Journal*), Hākim Burkāñ (as the name should be read) is the well-known veiled Prophet of Khursārān, and the line following should stand thus :—"had lived, who was known as the Moon-maker (Sūzandah-Māh) of Nakhshab, in Transoxiana" (cf. *Literary History of Persia*, by E. G. Browne, p. 319).

In the Itineraries a few corrections may be noticed. In Route III (p. 99, line 4 ff.; p. 750 of the *Journal*) the stages are in wrong order. We should read :—"from Farāshah to the Nil Canal in 7 farsakhs, passing . . . Kūthā Rabbā . . . to the left of the road ; then, with the city of Bābil lying . . . on the right hand, in 2 farsakhs to the city of Hillah. Thence it is 7 farsakhs

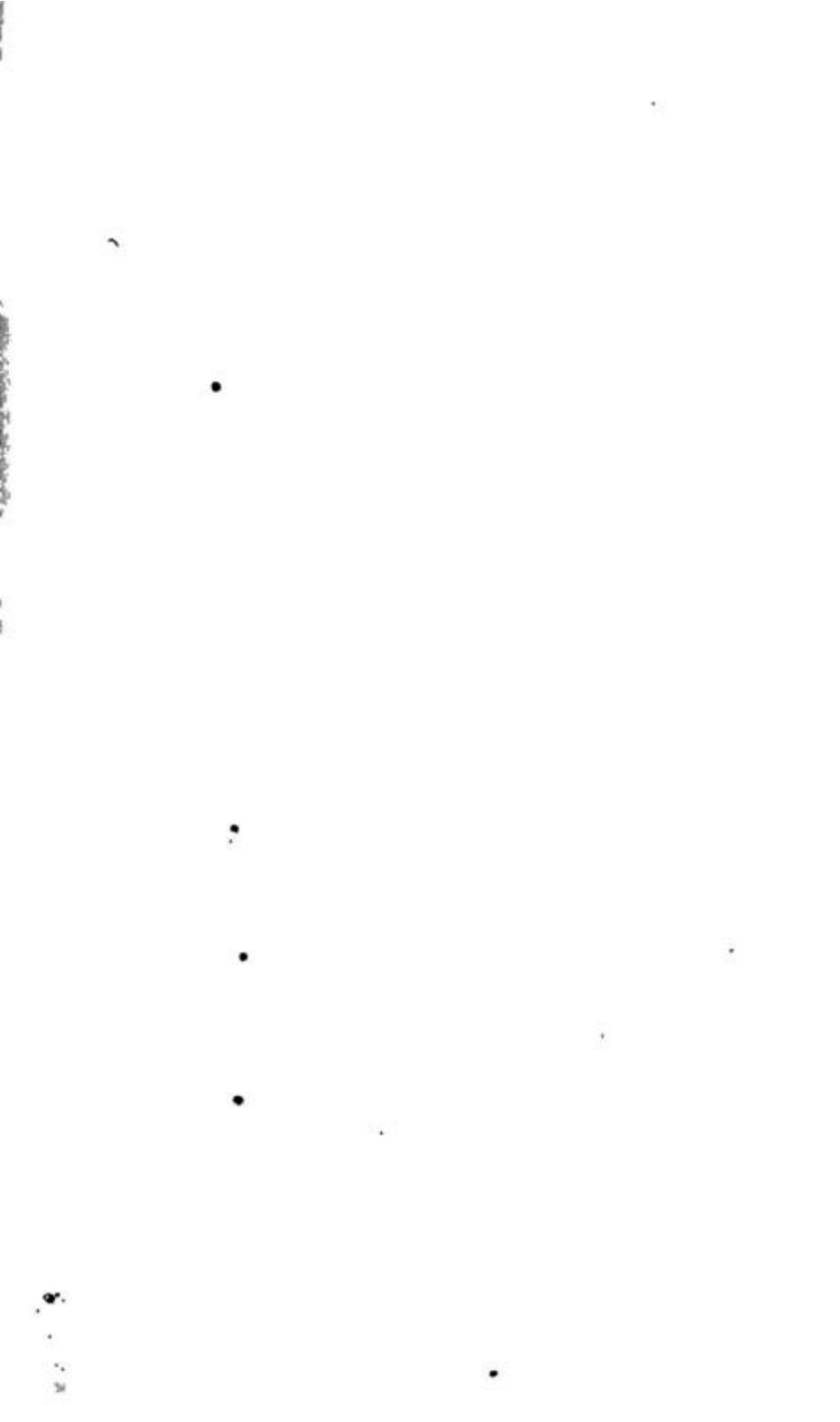
to the city of Kūfah," etc. And as regards Farāshah, this place is mentioned by Ibn Jubay (*Text*, p. 217), who passed it on his road north to Baghdād. In Route XVIII (p. 106, line 23, and p. 757 of the *Journal*) the town in Bādgīs given as *Tūn* should be read Bawan, otherwise called Babnah, as given by Yākūt, i, 764. In Route XIX the latter part should be corrected from Professor De Gooje's translation of the Turkish text (p. 347) of the *Jihān Numā*, given in his work *Das alte Bett des Oecus* (p. 112). We should read: "Hazārasp 9 farsakhs to Dih Azrak (Blue village), thence 7 to Rākhushmīthan, thence 6 to Andarastūn, thence 2 to the city of Nuzwār, and then 6 to Urganj." Finally, in Route XXVIII (p. 111, line 17 and five lines from below, and p. 762 of the *Journal*), "the city of Saj," which lay between Shīrāz and the coast, opposite Kays Island, may very likely be identical with the town of Jamm mentioned by Iṣṭakhri (*Text*, p. 106), who writes that of the Sirāf District there were three chief cities, "to wit, Sirāf, Najīram, and Jamm," but no mention of this place appears, as far as is known, in any other geographer.

In regard to the new Map, some places have had still to be marked by numbers, and the names of these must be sought, according to their Provinces, in the lists given on pages 25 and 26 (*Journal*, pp. 73, 74).

G. LE S.

November, 1903.





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PERSIA UNDER THE MONGOLS.

It is very generally a matter of complaint that the lithographed editions of Persian and Arabic works published in the East are, for the most part, unprovided with any index or full table of contents; and, further, that when the book treats of geography or history, the proper names of both persons and places are too often given in a manner that at first sight defies identification. Half a loaf, however, is proverbially better than no bread, and, until from some quarter funds are forthcoming to defray the cost of printing Persian texts in Europe, scholars would often be able to make use of the editions lithographed in India or elsewhere, if the true reading of the proper names were fixed by a collation of the best manuscripts, and if a full table of contents were available for purposes of reference. In many cases also a Persian work will only contain one part, or a series of chapters, that pre-eminently is of interest to Western scholars: and the remark, of course, applies more especially to the Cosmographies where the geographical chapters alone are of first-rate importance, as also to those numerous Universal Histories where only the concluding sections, dealing with the author's own time, can in any way be considered as of primary authority. An instance in point is, I consider, the cosmographical work of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi, which forms the subject of the present article, and of which a lithographed edition appeared in Bombay in 1894 (A.H. 1311) under the editorship of Mīrzā Mahdī Shīrāzī, being published by Mīrzā Muhammad Shīrāzī, surnamed Malik-al-Kuttāb, or the Chief of the Scriveners.

Hamd-Allah Mustawfi and his two principal works—the history called the *Tārīkh-i-Guzidah*, and the *Nuzhat-al-Kulūb*, which last is now under discussion—were fully noticed by Mr. E. G. Browne in this Journal in a paper on “The Sources of Dawlatshāh” (J.R.A.S. for January, 1899), and more recently (October, 1900) he has given us a translation of the section on the “Biographies of the Persian Poets” from the *Guzidah*, with a detailed account of the contents of that historical work, of which he hopes later off to publish an edition of the Persian text. As a complement and commentary to the *Guzidah*, the geographical part of the *Nuzhat-al-Kulūb* is of considerable importance. Further, and from the point of view of historical geography, it is of special interest, since it gives us a detailed description of Persia in the age immediately succeeding that of the travels of Marco Polo. The first half of the fourteenth century A.D. may indeed be regarded as a turning-point in the history of Western Asia, being a period of comparative calm coming between the epoch-marking conquests of the Mongols under Changhīz Khān and the no less revolutionary period of conquest by Timur. From a geographical point of view it was a time of transition. Before this we have the lands of Islām under the Abbasid Caliphs, as described by the Arab geographers Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Hawkal, and Mukaddasī; after this there is Western Asia, as shown on our present maps, which last may be held to date from the changes effected by the conquests of Timur and the subsequent partition of his empire among his descendants and successors.

Nearly forty years ago Monsieur Barbier de Meynard (now director of the *École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* in Paris) gave us the translation of the greater part of the geographical section of the *Nuzhat-al-Kulūb* in the notes to his well-known *Dictionnaire de la Perse*,¹ which is based on the geographical encyclopædia of Yākūt. To the information contained in this book I must express my great indebtedness, and I may take the occasion of bearing witness to the

¹ Small 4to. Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1861.

admirable accuracy of Monsieur B. de Meynard's work, which, it should be remembered, had to be entirely based on manuscript material, being translated directly from the Paris MSS. of the *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān*. Since 1861 the whole text of Yākūt has been edited by Professor Wüstenfeld; also, in his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Professor de Goeje has now given us admirable editions of nearly all the earlier Arab geographers: it is therefore very easy to verify, by a reference to the texts, the translations given by Monsieur B. de Meynard; and it will be remembered that the *Dictionnaire de la Perse* is still the only portion of Yākūt's great Encyclopædia of which a complete translation exists in any European language. Seeing, therefore, that we have here a translation of all the longer articles in the *Nuzhat* which treat of the towns described by Ḥamd-Allah, I shall only attempt in this paper to complete his lists of names, referring my readers to the pages of the *Dictionnaire de la Perse* for all further information in detail. My arrangement of the materials will, however, be somewhat different, for the *Dictionnaire de la Perse* being set in alphabetical order, no account is taken of the enumeration of the places as grouped by Ḥamd-Allah under the various provinces, and this arrangement, for the elucidation of the historical geography of the period, is, I deem, of much importance. Then, again, Monsieur B. de Meynard, as he acknowledges in his preface,¹ has made no attempt to identify the sites of places mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah, as, indeed, this was inevitable forty years ago, for our maps of Persia were then in many parts a blank. Since that time, however, a host of travellers and explorers have filled in the names, and at the present day most part of the great plateau of Īrān has been explored. I need only mention the numerous excellent maps published by General Houtum

¹ Op. cit., Préface, p. xx: "Les questions si délicates de topographie ancienne ne peuvent être abordées avec sûreté qu'après l'étude préalable des documents indigènes. J'espère qu'il me sera donné un jour de travailler à la solution de ce difficile problème, au moins, en ce qui touche la Perse: aujourd'hui je l'ai écarté de propos délibéré."

Schindler in the Berlin *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, and the maps given by Monsieur J. de Morgan in his *Mission Scientifique en Perse*—which last is still in course of publication—as instances of completed surveys of the individual provinces under investigation; while in the numerous papers devoted to Persia contained in recent volumes of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society I have found much to aid me in the identification of ancient with modern sites. My mainstay, however, has been the great Map of Persia, in six sheets, on the scale of sixteen miles to the inch, published by the War Office Intelligence Department in 1886.

For the true spelling of the place-names¹ I have had recourse to the systematic Itineraries given by Ibn Khurdādbih and Kudāmah, supplemented by the detail of routes found in the works of Ya'kūbī, Ibn Rustah, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Hawkal, and Mukaddasī, all of which date from the middle of the third to the last quarter of the fourth century A.H. (ninth and tenth centuries A.D.). These mediæval Arab Road-books have enabled me to correct, and hence profit by, the very full Itinerary which Hamd-Allah himself gives at the close of his description of Īrān. This Persian Itinerary is now published for the first time, and it has made the location of a number of mediæval towns and districts possible, all traces of which have long since disappeared from the modern map. As an instance I may mention the Mint-city of Sāburkhwāst in Luristān, which Hamd-Allah shows to be *not* the modern Khurramābād, as has often been supposed; then some important details are given about Sirjān, the capital of Kirmān, and about Old Hurmuz; and we are now enabled to fix approximately by these Persian Itineraries the positions of many lost towns such as Tālikān^{*} and Faryāb of south-eastern Khurāsān; also Kāghaz-Kunān and Bajarvān,

¹ The spelling of Persian place-names is far from being consistent. The Persian for 'village,' now written and pronounced *Dīh* (vowel short), is generally in the MSS. written *Dīh*, with the vowel long. Other common variations are Isfāhān or Isfahān, Hūrmūz or Hurmuz, Tīhrān or Tīhrān, Kūhistān or Kūhistān.

once important cities on the great northern high road from Adharbayjān towards the Caucasus frontier, besides many villages and post-stations.

On the vexed question of the lower course of the Oxus during the middle ages, and its outflow into the Caspian, Hamd-Allah has important information to give. The detailed account of the provinces into which Persia in his day was divided shows, by a comparison with the provincial frontiers as given by the Arab geographers of Abbasid times, the changes effected by the Mongol conquest, and the later administration of the Il-Khāns, who built Saltāniyāh in Persian 'Irāk to be their capital, and to take the place of Bughdād as the Metropolis of Western Asia—Mesopotamia being henceforth counted as merely a province of Persia. The most notable change in the political map of Irān is the formation of the new province of Kurdistān, which was taken from the western half of the Arab province of Jibāl (Media), the remaining, or eastern, portion of the older Jibāl province now coming to be more generally known as Persian 'Irāk. Then, again, all the Yazd district, which had formerly been counted as of Fūrs, was now given to Persian 'Irāk, thus, in compensation for Kurdistān, which had been taken away, enlarging the older frontier of the Jibāl to the eastward, and so rounding off what was now the central province of Irān under the administration of the Il-Khāns. Lastly, on the Persian Gulf region, Hamd-Allah divides off Shabānkārah from the south-eastern part of Fārs, making of Shabānkārah a separate province, of which the ancient Dārābjird and Lār (a town unknown to the earlier geographers) were the chief centres of population.

Hamd-Allah personally was well fitted thus to describe Irān, for there is evidence that he had himself travelled over the greater part of the country. In the matter of frontiers and capital cities he was trained in office-work connected with the taxation of the provinces, being one who held by inheritance the post of Mustawfi or Accountant-general, this post having been in his family since the days of his great-grandfather, who was superintendent of the

finances of 'Irāk in Abbasid times, before the first Mongol invasion. Hamd-Allah himself had served under Rashīd-ad-Dīn (the author of the *Tārikh-i-Rashīdi*, published in part by E. Quatremère), the celebrated minister of Ghāzān Khān, and the present description of Persia and Mesopotamia, though completed in 740 (1340 A.D.), may be taken to represent the country as it existed under the government of that Īl-Khān and his successors Uljaytū and Abu-Sa'īd (brother and nephew of Ghāzān) in whose service Hamd-Allah held the office of Mustawfi.

At the head of most of the chapters describing each province of the Īlkhānid empire in Persia and Mesopotamia Hamd-Allah has given the sum of the provincial revenue paid in his own time. These figures may be best summarized in a note,¹ and they are of interest as showing the financial condition of Persia under the Īl-Khāns. It must, however, be observed that Mustawfi very frequently also gives, under the separate articles, the state-revenues derived from the towns; hence the sums given in our footnote probably should not be held to represent the sum-total of the provincial taxes, for, while it is nowhere clearly stated whether or not these individual sums formed part of the aggregate, the revenues of all the chief towns are not given. From the point of view of Numismatics an interest lies in the statement repeated many times by Mustawfi (L. 133d, 170j, etc.) that in his day the currency-dīnār (*Dīnār-i-Rājī*), which was used in all accounts, a gold coin that possibly was only nominal (or but seldom coined), was reckoned to be worth six (silver) dirhams of the Abbasids;

¹ Reckoned in currency-dīnārs (four of these being about equivalent to the pound sterling), and in the year 35 of the Īlkhāni Era (A.D. 1335), Arabian 'Irāk paid 3,000,000 dīnārs; Rūm (Asia Minor), 3,300,000; Armenia, 390,000; Upper Mesopotamia, 1½ million dīnārs; Kurdistān, 201,500; Khūzistān, 325,000; Fūrs, 2,871,200; Shabānkārah, 266,100; and Kirmān, 676,500 dīnārs. The list of provinces, it will be observed, is not complete. Mustawfi further, in many cases, records the revenues of former periods, notably for Saljūk times during the later centuries of the Abbasid Caliphate, but these seem hardly worth tabulating, for the sums mentioned are not likely to be very reliable.

hence, as already said in our footnote, four of these currency-dinārs were about equal in value to one pound sterling.

The present paper, it will be seen, only attempts the summary of Part II in the Third Book of the *Nushat*, and of this all that is now here given is the corrected list of the names of places, with the reference to the pages of the lithographed edition, and to the authority responsible for the true reading of the name. An attempt also has been made in every case to identify the site, or the fact is stated when the position is unknown.

The text as found in the Bombay Lithograph has been edited with almost incredible carelessness. The place-names heading each article are written indifferently with or without diacritical points, hence very often these names are perfectly illegible. Towns of a somewhat similar name in the written character, but quite well known, and, in point of fact, occupying different provinces—such, for example, as *Ardabil* in Adharbayjān and *Irbil* in Upper Mesopotamia—are as a rule here systematically confounded one with the other, and a place like Tawwaj, the celebrated commercial emporium of Fārs in the earlier middle ages, appears in the Bombay text as Nūh, that is to say, Noah. Similarly absurd mistakes recur again and again, as, for instance, where our author, speaking of the rivers of Persia (which for the most part do not find their exit to the sea), describes each in turn as "flowing out or becoming lost in the Desert (*Mafāzah*)," for which the Bombay edition invariably has the statement that the river becomes "lost in a cave (*Maghārah*)," the excuse for which nonsense being that in the Arabic character there is a similarity between *Maghārah* and *Mafāzah* by a change of diacritical points.

For obtaining a correct text, I have collated (more or less completely) eight of the best MSS. found in the British Museum, also the six MSS. of the Bodleian at Oxford, and two MSS. belonging to the University Library at Cambridge. For Chapter 12, describing the province of Fārs, I have been able to get the true readings for a number of place-names, not given by Istakhri or the other Arab geographers,

In conclusion of these preliminary notes, I may remark that for the true reading of the place-names I have relied far more on the authority of *Yākūt*, supplemented by the older Arab geographers (the texts, namely, in the eight volumes of the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* of De Goeje) and our present maps, than on the readings in the diverse MSS. of the *Nuzhat*, which last are often incredibly incorrect, from the carelessness of the scribes. Where the modern map and the Arab geographers together fail us (e.g. in some sections of the Itineraries), the spelling of the place-names becomes quite uncertain, and the diverse readings often equal in number that of the manuscripts consulted, each scribe having added diacritical points and letters according to fancy. The Persians are, indeed, far behind the Arab scribes in matter of accuracy in copying their texts; and, curiously enough, where a criterion has existed for settling the true reading, I have often found that the older MSS. of the *Nuzhat* were quite as incorrectly written as the more modern copies of the work.

I have been unable to include in the following pages the names of all the villages given by Mustawfi in his lists; indeed, as a general rule, those names only are inserted which either occur in the works of the Arab geographers, or are found still to exist on our modern maps, or, finally, are inserted in the Itinerary. An exhaustive collating of all the MSS. would be required for fixing the readings of the outstanding names in Mustawfi's lists of sub-districts and villages; and even then accuracy would probably be unattainable, until the topography of Persia becomes more accurately and completely known. In the following pages, however, all the separate articles, whether of towns or districts, given by Mustawfi have been inserted, and the attempt is in every case made to identify the placos mentioned; or, when the present maps and the Arab geographers alike are at fault, and no clear indication of the site is attainable, some indication is given of the region in which the place or its ruins should be sought for.

Before proceeding to a detailed examination of that section

of the *Nuzhat* which especially deals with the Ilkhānid kingdom of Irān (Persia with Mesopotamia), it will be convenient to give first the general Table of Contents of the book, premising that the *Nuzhat-al-Kulūb* is a cosmographical work, of which a part only treats of geography, and that it is divided into five sections, namely, an *Introduction*, *Three Books*, and a *Conclusion*, these sections being in many cases further subdivided into Chapters and various Appendixes or sub-sections.¹

INTRODUCTION (called *Fatīlah* or *Mukaddamah*): treating of the Spheres, the Heavenly Bodies, and the Elements, followed by a description of the inhabited Quarters of the Earth, with an explanation of Latitude and Longitude, and the division into Climates, L. 8*h*.

FIRST BOOK (*Makālah-i-Avvāl*): describing the Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal Kingdoms, L. *inset* 2*z*.

SECOND BOOK: Man, his nature, faculties, and qualities, L. 49*a*.

THIRD BOOK, divided into four Parts (*Kism*).

PART I: Mecca, Medina, and the Mosque of Jerusalem, L. 116*a*.

PART II: The Lands of Irān, divided into twenty Chapters (*Bāb*)² and five Appendices (*Makhlaṣ* or *Faṣl*).

Ch. 1, 'Irūk 'Arab, 132*p*.* *Ch.* 2, 'Irūk 'Ajām, 141*w*.*

Ch. 3, Adharbayjān, 153*m*.* *Ch.* 4, Mughān and Arrān, 159*u*.* *Ch.* 5, Shīrvān, 160*x*.* *Ch.* 6, Gurjistān,

¹ The references (for distinction, where any ambiguity may occur, more especially marked L.) are to the lithographed edition, already indicated, of the *Nuzhat*. This contains in all 372 pages of text, which, for some unexplained reason, are not numbered consecutively. The pagination runs from pp. 1 to 48, this being followed by an inset of pp. 1 to 112, after which comes p. 49, thence running on continuously to the close of the work, which is numbered p. 280. Each page contains twenty-five lines of text, which for convenience I refer to under the letters of the alphabet: thus 132*s* and 133*a* indicate the last line and the first line of the text on these two pages respectively.

² The Persian text of the chapters marked * has been printed by C. Schefner in his *Supplément au Siasset Nāmeh*, Paris, 1897, pp. 141-230. Of those marked † the text is given by B. Dorn in vol. iv of his *Muhammedanische Quellen*, St. Petersburg, 1858, pp. 81-87.

161*h** Ch. 7, Rūm, 161*g*. Ch. 8, Armenia, 164*a**
 Ch. 9, Jazīrah, 165*n*. Ch. 10, Kurdistān, 167*n*. Ch. 11,
 Khūzistān, 168*m*. Ch. 12, Fārs, 170*b*. Ch. 13.
 Shabānkārah, 181*g*. Ch. 14, Kirmān, 181*z*. Ch. 15,
 The Desert, 182*w*. Ch. 16, Nīmrūz and Kūhistān, 183*s*.
 Ch. 17, Khurāsān, 185*s*. Ch. 18, Māzandarān, 190*f*.†
 Ch. 19, Kūmis, 191*b*.† Ch. 20, Gilān, 191*s*.†

Appendix I, the Itineraries, divided into the following sections:

—Route i, Sulṭāniyah to Hamadān and Kanguvār, 192*w*.
 Route ii, Kanguvār to Hulwān, 192*z*. Route iii, Hulwān
 to Baghdād and Najaf, 193*e*. After which, 193*k*, come
 the pilgrim routes across the Arabian Desert to Mecca,
 Medina, and back to Najaf. Route iv, Baghdād to
 Baṣrah and to the Island of Kays, 195*g*. Route v,
 Baghdād to Raḥbah, 195*v*. Route vi, Baghdād to
 Mosul, 195*x*. Route vii, Kanguvār to Isfahān, 195*q*.
 Route viii, Sulṭāniyah to Sūmghān, 196*d*. Route ix,
 Sūmghān to Bustām, 196*d*. Route x, Bustām to
 Nīshāpūr, 196*n*. Route xi, Nīshāpūr to Sarakhs and
 Marv-ar-Rūd, 196*u*. Route xii, Marv-ar-Rūd to Balkh
 and the Oxus, 197*a*. Route xiii, Bustām to Farāvah,
 197*j*. Route xiv, Farāvah to Urganj, 197*l*. Route xv,
 Nīshāpūr to Herat, 197*r*. Route xvi, Nīshāpūr to
 Turshīz, 197*z*. Route xvii, Herat to Zarānj, MS. only.
 Route xviii, Herat to Marv-ar-Rūd and on to Great
 Marv, 198*a*. Route xix, Great Marv to Urganj, 198*s*.
 Route xx, Sulṭāniyah to Bajārvān, 198*n*. Route xxi,
 Bajārvān to Maḥmūdābād, 198*s*. Route xxii, Bajārvān
 to Tiflis, 198*u*. Route xxiii, Bajārvān to Tabrīz, 199*b*.
 Route xxiv, Sulṭāniyah to Tabrīz, 199*h*. Route xxv,
 Tabrīz to Sīvās, 199*n*. Route xxvi, Sūmghān to Isfahān,
 199*v*. Route xxvii, Isfahān to Shirāz, 200*c*. Route
 xxviii, Shirāz to Kays Island, and thence by sea to
 India, 200*l*. Route xxix, Shirāz to Kāzirūn, 200*x*.
 Route xxx, Shirāz to Hurmūz, 200*z*. Route xxxi,
 Shirāz to Kirmān, 201*f*. Route xxxii, Shirāz to Yazd,
 201*k*. Route xxxiii, Shirāz to Arrājān and Bustānak,
 201*p*.

Appendix II, Mountains:—Alvand, 202*p*; Askanbarān, 202*u*;
 Bisutūn, 203*f*; Barchīn, 203*s*; Darūk, 203*y*; Damā-
 vand, 203*z*; Darābjird mountains, 204*f*; Rastāk, 204*g*;

Rūsmand, 204*k*; Rākhid, 204*n*; Kūh-Zar and Zardah-kūh, 204*q*; Sāblān, 204*w*; Sarūhand, 205*c*; Sahand, 205*h*; Siyāh-kūh, 205*k*; Sīpān, 205*l*; Shakūk, 205*m*; Sūr, 205*p*; Tāruk, 205*r*; Tabarak, 205*t*; Kārin, 205*x*; Kabalah, 206*d*; Kāfs, 206*e*; Kargas, 206*e*; Kirmān mountains, 206*h*; Gulistān, 206*k*; Gulshān, 206*l*; Gunābāl and Zibad, 206*n*; Kūshad, 206*o*; Kīlūyah, 206*q*; Māst-kūh, 206*r*; Mūrjān, 206*t*; Nīshāt, 206*v*; Salt mountain of Āvāh, 206*x*; Hujam, 207*a*; Harīn, 207*b*.

Appendix III: Mines and Minerals, 207*d*.

Appendix IV, Rivers:—Sayhūn and Jayhān (the Sarus and Pyramus of Asia Minor), 211*g*; Frāt (Euphrates), 211*u*; Nil (the Nile), 212*g*; Itil (the Volga), 212*v*; Atrak, 212*z*; Aras, 213*b*; Ilāk, 213*e*; Büy, 213*f*; Bardāl, 213*j*; Jayhūn (Oxus), 213*l*; Jurjān, 213*u*; Dijlah (Tigris), 213*x*; Dujayl (Kārūn), 214*e*; Dizfūl river, 214*h*; Upper and Lower Zāb, 214*j*; Murghāb, 214*n*; Zandah-rūd, 214*r*; Zakān, 214*z*; Safid-rūd,¹ 215*e*; Sayhūn or Shāsh (Jaxartos), 215*h*; Shāhrūd, 215*n*; Ās (Orontes), 215*q*; Khitay river, 216*s*; Farah-rūd, 215*t*; Kaw'ah (or Kār'ah), 215*u*; Karkhah, 215*w*; Kur of Georgia, 215*y*; Kur of Fārs, 216*a*; Gaug (Ganges), 216*f*; Mīhrān (Indus), 216*h*; Nahrawān, 216*l*; Ḥarī-rūd, 216*p*; Hirmānd (Helmund), 216*s*; Jāyij-rūd, 216*v*; Garm-rūd or Kūh-rūd, 216*x*; Kum river, 216*z*; Gāvmasā, 217*a*; Zanjān river, 217*c*; Abhar river, 217*g*; Kazvīn rivers, 217*j*, *q*, and *t*; Tārum river, 217*k*; Kāshān river, 217*m*; Muzdakān, 217*n*; Kardān, 217*r*; Kharraqān rivers, 217*s* and *v*; Andarāb, 217*w*; Ahar river, 217*y*; Awjān river, 218*a*; Jaghtū, 218*b*; Sarāv, 218*c*; Sard-rūd, 218*e*; Sanjid and Kadpū, 218*f*; Sāfi, 218*g*; Shāl, 218*h*; Garm-rūd, 218*h*; Mīhrān-rūd, 218*j*; Marand river, 218*l*; Miyānj river, 218*n*; Taghtū, 218*p*; Hasht-rūd, 218*q*; Pulvār, 218*r*; Tāb, 218*s*; Masin, 218*u*; Shirīn, 218*v*; Sitādkān, 218*w*; Jarrah river, 218*x*; Darkhuvayd, 218*y*; Khwāndān, 218*z*; Ratin, 219*a*; Jarshik, 219*b*; Ikhshīn, 219*d*; Sam-rūd, 219*d*; Div-rūd, 219*e*; Nishāvar river, 219*f*; Barārah, 219*g*; Balīkh, 219*j*; Khābūr,

¹ Here, and in many other instances, the form of the name given is Āb-i-Safid-Rūd, literally 'Water (or River) of the White-river,' the word for river being repeated twice.

219^k; Hirmās, 219^m; Tharthār, 219^e; Sūr, 219^p; Shūrūb, 219^q; Dizbād, 219^r; Saḥr, 219^s; Kharū, 219^t; Tūshkān, 219^u; Pusht-farūsh, 219^v; Khajank, 219^x; Farajah, 219^x; Dahar, 219^y; Bakīrān, 219^z; Chārsaf-rūd, 220^a; 'Aṭshābad river, 220^b; Vukhshūb, 220^d; Jaghān, 220^e; Bayāt river, 220^g; Dukūk river, 220^j; Barūz-ar-Rüz river, 220^l.

Appendix V, Seas and Lakes :—The seven Seas, 220ⁿ; Sea of China, 220^w; the Indian Sea, 221^t; the Persian Gulf, 222^t; the Red Sea, 223^e; the Sea of the Franks, 223^r; the Western Sea, 224^e; the Sea of Rūm, 224^m; the Sea of Darkness, 224^y; the Eastern Sea, 225^b; the Caspian, 225^d; Lake Bakhtigān, 225^y; Lake of Dasht Arzin, 226^a; the Jirrah Lake, 226^b; Māhulūyah Lake, 226^e; Lake of Darkhuvayd, 226^d; the Lakes of Mūshuyah and of Murghzār Isfandān, 226^e; Urmīyah Lake, 226^f; Arjish Lake (Van), 226^g; Gukehah Lake, 226^k; Chashmah Sabz, 226^l; the Zarah Lake, 226^p; the Khwārizm Lake (Aral Sea), 226^q; the Lake of Tinnis (Egypt), 226^u.

PART III: The Border Lands of Irān, that at times have been subject thereof.

This part gives a number of short articles on the following countries and towns:—Alexander and the Wall against Gog and Magog, 227^d; Bāb-al-Abwāb, 227^k; S̄amarqānd, 228^d; Siyāvush-gird, 228^u; Furghānah, 228^x; Alexandria, 229^b; Damascus, 230^d; Raḥbah, 230^z; Cairo and Egypt, 231^c; Southern Regions, 232^j; Northern Regions, beyond Bāb-al-Abwāb with the Gog and Magog Wall, 232^p.

PART IV: Foreign Lands that never have been subject to Irān.

This part briefly notices the following cities and lands with others:—Balāsaghūn, 233^q; Thibet, 233^r; China, 233^z; Khitay, 234^c; Khoten, 234^f; Khwārizm, 234^g; the Desert of Kipchāk, 234^l; Lands of Gog and Magog, 234^q; Bulghār, 234^s; various Indian cities, 234^t; Ṣaghāniyān, 234^w; Karākorum, 235^c; Kandahār, 235^f; Kābul, 235^h; Kashmīr, 235^j; Māchīn (China), 235^m; Transoxiana, 235^r; Makrān, 235^w; India, 235^z; Dohli, 236^b; Yaman, 236^f; Aden, 236^k; Oman, 236^m; Yamāmah, 236ⁿ; Ḥadramawt, 236^t; Little Armenia, 236^v; Ifrīkiyah, 236^y; Andulūs, 237^d; the Arabian Desert, 238^c; Hijāz, 238^m; Syria, 238^q;

Tarsus, the Cave of the Seven Sleepers, 239 σ ; Tangiers, 239 h ; the Lands of the Franks, Constantinople, 239 r ; Palestine, 239 v ; Kayruwān, 240 h ; Kulzum, 240 l ; Miṣr (Egypt), 240 m ; Maghrib and Western Lands, 240 r ; Greece, 243 a .

CONCLUSION (*Khatimah*). Description of Marvels in various parts of Īrān:—In Khurāsān, Kūmis, Mūzandarān, and Kūhistān, 243 n ; in ‘Irāk ‘Ajam, Kurdistān, Lūristān, and Gilān, 243 s ; in Fūr, Kirmān, and Shabūnkārah, 246 e ; in ‘Irāk ‘Arab and Khūzistān, 246 r ; in Rūm, Gurjistān, Adharbayjān, Mughān, Arrān, and Shirvān, 247 j ; marvels in diverse other quarters of the habitable world, 248 k . *Finis* of the *Nuzhat-al-Kulūb*, setting forth the author’s apology, 254 d ; followed by a list of the chief Arabic and Persian historians, with the names of their works, 257 a –259 z . Colophon, 260.

Reverting now to Part II of the Third Book, *On the Lands of Īrān*—the subject of the present paper—the detailed contents of the twenty chapters into which this is divided are succinctly discussed in the following pages. And here, for the sake of convenience, I have added to each chapter, when treating of the various provinces and towns, those articles which go to form Appendices II, IV, and V, in which Mustawfi describes the *Mountains*, *Rivers*, and *Lakes* of Persia and Mesopotamia, giving of course also a reference to the *Nuzhat* where the text of the Appendix will be found. Appendix I, on the Itineraries, will be treated in detail at the close of Chapter 20; but in regard to Appendix III, on *Mines*, being totally unacquainted with mineralogy, and since this section treats only of the places where diverse minerals and metals are to be found, I have thought it wiser to omit this part altogether from my paper.

The list of names is a long one, and perhaps a few remarks on the nomenclature will not be out of place before proceeding to the description of the various provinces.

In glancing over the place-names which Mustawfi records it is clear that the Arab element, found in the earlier geographers, had in the fourteenth century A.D. given place

almost entirely to Persian forms. The Arabs very usually added the article *al* to place-names which in their language had a meaning, e.g., Al-Anbār 'the Granary,' Al-Hadīthah 'the New Town,' and Al-Mawṣil 'the Junction' (Mosul); but in addition it will be found that they frequently wrote their article before purely Persian place-names, e.g. As-Sīrjān and Al-Iṣṭahbānān, where there was no very obvious reason for so doing. It is impossible to say why Rhages should always have been written with the article *Ar-Ray*, while *Jay*, the old name for Isfahān, should have as invariably been written without it. In Mustawfi's lists, however, the Arabic article has everywhere disappeared, and we have Ray, Mawṣil, etc.; while names such as Ar-Rān and Ar-Ras (*spelt* Al-Rān, Al-Ras in the Arabic writing), which in the older geographers had thus the false appearance of Arab names, in the pages of Mustawfi appear in plain Persian as Arrān and Aras.

Glancing over the map it will thus be found that nearly everywhere the older nomenclature has disappeared: Naysābūr is become Nīshāpūr (in modern Persian the diphthongs *ay* and *aw* are as a rule replaced by long ī and ū), Kirmīsīn is replaced by Kirmānshāhān, Nashavā by Nakhchivān; and Arabic names are given in their Persian equivalent, Kaṣr-ar-Rīḥ 'Wind Palace' becoming Dīh Bād, Kāriyat-al-Asad 'Lion Village' and Kaṣr-al-Jawz 'Nut Palace' reappearing as Dīh Shīr and Dīh Jawz, the meanings standing unchanged. More especially in the province of Fārs it will be found that Kal'ah, signifying a castle in Arabic, is still very generally retained; at times, however, it is replaced by the Persian equivalent Diz, e.g. Kal'ah Isfandīyār, otherwise called Diz-i-Safid 'White Castle,' and in one case the Arabic Kal'ah or Kal'at reappears under the purely Persian form of Kilāt, which as a place-name became common in later times throughout Western Asia. In short, Persia proper in the time of Mustawfi had already got quit of Arabic place-names; one of the few mentioned by him (and the name is still retained) being Bayḍā (Arabic *al-Bayḍā*, 'the White Town') in the

Marvdasht plain to the north of Shīrāz. Of purely Arabic names Wāsiṭah, 'the Middle place,' a post-stage between Kāshān and Isfahān, is another example, but the reading of the MSS. is not sure, and in another instance Haddādah, 'the Frontier or Barrier,' a stage on the great eastern road between Damghān and Bustūm, the Arab name is given with its Persian alias of Mihmān-dūst, and this last is the one still in use. One other instance of an Arabic name in Persia, as given by Mustawfi, occurs in Rūs-al-Kalb, 'the Dog's Head,' a stage between Ray and Samnān. No trace of this name exists at the present time, and apparently its place is occupied by Lāsjird, the name of the curious fortress-town (wanting in the lists of the mediæval geographers) which crowns a bluff overlooking the desert plain (see illustration in H. W. Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris*, p. 404).

Chapter 1. 'Irāk 'Arab.

Contents: Kūfah, L. 133s; Mashhad 'Alī, 134g; Mashhad Husayn, 134s; Baghdād, 135a; Anbār, 136w; Bābil, 136s; Barāz-ar-Rūz, 137f; Başrah, 137f; 'Abbādān, 137w; Bandanījīn and Lihf, 137s; Bayāt, 138a; Takrīt, 138d; Tall 'Akarkūf, 138f; Ḥadīthah, 138g; Harbā, 138h; Hillah, 138j; Hulwān, 138p; Hīrah, 138s; Khāliṣ, 138v; Khānikīn, 138w; Dujayl, 138x; Dakūk, 139a; Duyr 'Ākūl, 139b; Rūmīyah, 139c; Rādhān and Bayn Nahrayn, 139d; Zangiālād, 139e; Sāmarrah, 139f; Ṣadrāyn, 139r; Tarīk, or the Road of, Khurāsān and Baḳūbā, 139s; Shahrabān, 139w; 'Ānah, 139x; 'Askarah, 139z; Kaṣr Shīrīn, 139z; Kādisīyah, 140e; Kūrān, 140e; Muḥawwal, 140f; Madāin, 140j; Nahr 'Isā, 141g; Nahr 'Malik, 141k; Nahrawān, 141m; Nu'mānīyah, 141o; Nil, 141p; Hit and Jubbah, 141p; Wāsiṭ, 141t.

The dividing-line between the two provinces of 'Irāk and Jazīrah (Lower and Upper Mesopotamia) has varied at different epochs. In Abbasid times it is generally given as running up from Anbār on the Euphrates to Takrīt on

the Tigris,¹ both towns being as a rule included in the lower province. In the time of Hamd-Allah, however, 'Irāk included as well many towns lying on the Euphrates to the north of Aubār, up to or beyond 'Ānah, and the frontier line at that period went from a short distance below Karkisiyā, where the river Khābūr joins the Euphrates, across Mesopotamia to a point on the Tigris immediately below the junction of the Lesser Zāb. Hamd-Allah in Appendix IV describes both the Euphrates and the Tigris at some length (L. 211 α and 213 α), but adds nothing to what has been already given in the notes to my translation of Ibn Serapion. The Tigris in his time still flowed down by the Shatt-al-Hay past Wāsit into the Great Swamps, which in their western portion swallowed up the waters also of the Euphrates below Kūfah; in short, the state of the country described by Ibn Serapion at the close of the ninth century A.D. still existed in 1340, and for that matter continued unaltered until after the time of Hāfiẓ Abrū in 1420, the change to the present state of the Euphrates and Tigris having taken place in the century before 1652 A.D., when Tavernier visited the country.²

Among the cities of 'Irāk, Hamd-Allah being an ardent Shi'ah gives precedence to Kūfah (I.S. 53), near the burial-place of the Imāms, which he calls the Dār-al-Mulk, 'the Abode of Power,' though Baghdād is, he admits, 'the Mother of Cities' and the metropolis. His description of the celebrated shrines near Kūfah is given in the following

¹ See *Map of Mesopotamia as described by Ibn Serapion*. In order to save needless repetition the letters I.S. will mark a reference to the volume of this Journal for 1895 where, in the notes to my paper on Ibn Serapion, details of many of the towns here mentioned will be found.

² See *Baghdad during the Caliphate*, p. 8, note 1. Since writing this I have found in Purchas' *Pilgrimage* (folio, 1625, vol. v, p. 1411) that in 1581 John Newberie apparently travelled down from Baghdad to Baṣrah by the present, eastern, course of the Tigris. The change, therefore, from the Wāsit channel to that at present followed must have already taken place, in all probability, before the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. Nothing certain is to be learnt from the Narratives of Caesar Frederic in 1563 (*Purchas*, v, p. 1702), John Eldred in 1583 (*Hakluyt Travels*, 4to edit., ii, p. 404), or the anonymous Portuguese traveller, *circa* 1555, whose MS. is in the possession of Major M. Hume (see *Athenaeum* for 25th March, 1901, p. 373).

paragraph, which is a slightly condensed translation of the Persian text:—

"Two leagues to the northward of Kūfah is Mashhad 'Alī, where the Caliph is buried; for, on receiving his death wound in the Kūfah Mosque, 'Alī had ordered that his body should be put on a camel, which was then to be turned loose, and wherever the camel knelt there his body was to be buried. All this was therefore done, but during the time of the Omayyads no tomb was erected at Mashhad 'Alī, for the place was kept hidden for security. In the year 175 (791 A.D.) the holy site was discovered by the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, for when hunting one day near Kūfah he had chased his quarry into a thicket, but on attempting to follow it he found that no force could prevail on his horse to enter the place. Then awe fell on Hārūn, and on enquiring of the peasants they told him this was indeed the burial-place of 'Alī, as such being an inviolate sanctuary. Orders were given to dig, and the body of 'Alī was found, to guard which a shrine (or Mashhad) was then built, which became a place of visitation. At a later date in the year 366 (977 A.D.) 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid erected the Mausoleum which still exists, and the place became a little town 2,500 paces in circuit. Ghāzān Khān the Il-Khān in recent times erected here the house for Sayyids called the Dār-as-Siyādah, also a Khānkāh or Darvish monastery. To the north-west of Kūfah, eight farsakhs away in the desert, is Karbalā, the place of martyrdom of Husayn. The building now seen here was erected by 'Adud-ad-Dawlah aforesaid, and a small town has grown up round this shrine also, being some 2,400 paces in circuit. Outside Mashhad Husayn are seen the tombs of those who fell fighting at his side in the battle that resulted in his martyrdom."

The early history of these two celebrated shrines is obscure; the foregoing is the usual Shī'ah account, but though it is true that Hārūn-ar-Rashīd at one period of his reign favoured the Alids, the Arab chronicles do not

relate that he 'invented' the Tomb of 'Alī. The earliest notice in detail of Mashhad 'Alī appears to be of the middle of the fourth century A.H. (tenth A.D.), written by Ibn Hawkal. He says (p. 163) that the Hamdānid prince Abu-l-Hayjā, who was governor of Mosul in 292 (A.D. 904) and died in 317 (A.D. 929), had built a dome on four columns over the tomb at Mashhad 'Alī, which shrine he ornamented with rich carpets and hangings; further, he surrounded the town there with a wall. Elsewhere Ibn Hawkal, however, adds that in his day the burial-place of 'Alī was also shown in the corner of the great Mosque at Kūfah, and this attribution was credited by many persons. In the pages of the Chronicle of Ibn-al-Athīr (ix, 13, 42, 169, 394; x, 103) it is recorded that the Buyid prince 'Adud-ad-Dawlah was buried at Mashhad 'Alī, also his sons Sharaf and Bahā-ad-Dawlah; and diverse other notable persons are under various dates stated to have been buried here.

In the year 443 (1051 A.D.) the shrine was burnt to the ground by the Baghdād populace, who, being orthodox, had taken to persecuting the Shī'ahs; it must, however, have been rebuilt shortly afterwards, for Malik Shāh and his Vazīr, the Nizām-al-Mulk, made their visitation to the tomb in 479 (1086 A.D.). Yākūt, who mentions Mashhad 'Alī in his articles on Kūfah and Najaf, unfortunately gives us no details of the shrine.

In regard to Karbalā and the shrine of Husayn, it is nowhere stated by whom it was first built, but in the year 236 (850 A.D.) the Caliph Mutawakkil earned the lasting hatred of all good Shī'ahs by ordering the buildings here to be destroyed by flooding the place with water; also he forbade the visitation of the sacred spot under heavy penalties. How long the tomb of Husayn remained in ruin is not stated, but 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid in 368 (979 A.D.) built a magnificent shrine here, and this is noticed by the contemporary geographers Iṣṭakhrī (p. 85) and Ibn Hawkal (p. 166). In 407 (1016 A.D.) the dome at Mashhad Husayn was burnt down, but doubtless was restored before the place was visited by Malik Shāh in 479 (1086 A.D.).

when he went hunting in these districts. Yākūt unfortunately gives us no description of Mashhad Husayn to supplement the above, which is derived from Ibn-al-Athīr (*Chronicle*, vii, 36; viii, 518; ix, 209; x, 103).

The description of Baghdād, that follows the description of Kūfah in the *Nuzhat*, has already been summarized in a recent number of this Journal (J.R.A.S. for 1899, p. 885), and most of the other towns are mentioned in the notes to my translation of Ibn Serapion and need only a reference here. A plan of the ruins of Anbār is given by Mr. J. P. Peters in his recent work on *Nippur* (i, 177); he visited the site, and this lies at some distance from Sifayra (see also I.S. 52). Bābil is at the ruins of ancient Babylon (I.S. 259). According to Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 6), Barāz-ar-Rūz and Bandanījīn were the chief towns of two neighbouring Sub-districts (*Tassūj*) of the great District (*Asṭān*) of Shādh Kubādh, which was the third Astān of the twelve Districts into which 'Irāq was divided in the times of the Abbasids. From the mention of neighbouring places it is almost certain that Barāz-ar-Rūz is identical with the modern Bilād Rūz, lying about twenty-five miles east of Baḳūbū; and Hamd-Allah (L. 220*f*) also speaks of its river, which rising in the Kurdistān mountains flowed out into the plain and became lost before reaching the Tigris bank. Bandanījīn, generally called Bandanīgān in the Lihf District, has left no trace on the map. It was an important town when Yākūt (i, 745; iv, 353) wrote, lying near the foot-hills (or Lihf) of the Khūzistān frontier, and its ruins should be sought for some fifty miles to the eastward, bearing south, of Bilād Rūz.

Baṣrah and 'Abbādān have been noticed before (I.S. 302, 304). The little town of Bayūt still exists, and Hamd-Allah (L. 220*g*) refers to its river, which rising in the Kurdistān mountains became lost in the plain below the town after watering many districts. Bayūt, a name which does not occur in the Arab geographers, is identical with, or rather lies close to, the ruins of Tib, a town mentioned by Yākūt (iii, 566) as of some importance during Abbasid days, the site of which has been visited and described by Sir H. Layard

(*Early Adventures*, ii, 229). Takrit was the frontier town on the Tigris between Lower and Upper Mesopotamia (I.S. 36). The great mound of Tall 'Akarkūf still exists; its village was, according to Yākūt (i, 867), of the 'Isū Canal District, and probably stood at no great distance from the town of Muḥawwal, of which apparently all traces have vanished. Hadīthah, 'the New Town' of the Euphrates, lying some thirty-five miles below 'Ānah, is called Ḫadīthah-an-Nūrah by Yākūt (ii, 223) to distinguish it from the other Ḫadīthah on the Tigris, at the junction of the Upper Zāb. Ḥarbā still exists on the Dujayl Canal (I.S. 39), and Ḥillah is on the Euphrates (I.S. 259). The ruins of Ḥulwān exist at the site called Sar-i-pul, and have been recently visited by M. de Morgan. The remains of Ḥirah lie near Kūfah (I.S. 53), and the Khālis is a canal of East Baghdād (I.S. 225). Khānikīn, Daḳūk, Zangībād, and Kaṣr Shīrīn all figure on the map and need no comment. The first and last are in the Itinerary (Route iii), and Ḥāmid-Allah describes (L. 220*j*) the Daḳūk river as flowing from the Kurdistān mountains by the Darband-i-Khalīfah, past Daḳūk, and out into the plain, where its waters were usually lost in the sand, though in the spring freshets they flow down to join the Tigris.

The Dujayl Canal is of West Baghdād (I.S. 70), and Dayr-al-'Ākūl is on the Tigris, so too Rūmīyah, opposite Mudāin (I.S. 40, 41). Rādhān and Bayn-an-Nahrayn—'Between two Canals'—were two neighbouring regions of the Nahrawān. Both names have now disappeared from the map, but, according to Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 6), there were, in Abbasid times, two Sub-districts called the Tassūj of Upper and of Lower Rādhān which formed part of the Shād Hurmuz Astān or District, and this last was on the left bank of the Tigris in the neighbourhood of Madāin. It is to be remarked that the name of Bayn-an-Nahrayn does not apparently occur in any other author. The Khurāsān Road is the name for the district to the eastward of Baghdād. Sāmarrah and Baḳūbā exist, and are noticed by Ibn Serapion (I.S. 36, 268). The region of Ṣadrāyñ

was watered by the Euphrates, but I have failed to discover its position, though the name occurs in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 466), and all the MSS. agree in this spelling. As given in the Itinerary (Route iii), and lying to the north-east of Baghdād, Shahrabān still exists; and 'Ānah is on the Euphrates (I.S. 52). Neither in the *Jihān Numā* nor elsewhere, apparently, is any account found of the towns named 'Askarah (or 'Askarīyah)¹ and Kūrūn, which are not either of them marked on our maps. Kādisīyah may be either the town of that name on the Tigris (I.S. 37), or the place on the desert border near Kūfah, where the great battle was fought when the Arab armies first invaded Mesopotamia.

As already said, Muḥawwal was the town on the great canal called the Nahr 'Isā (I.S. 71) to the west of Baghdād, and the ruins of Madāin are still to be seen on the Tigris below Baghdād (I.S. 40). The canal called the Nahr Mālik is the one below the Nahr 'Isā flowing from the Euphrates to the Tigris (I.S. 74), and Nu'māniyah (I.S. 43) stands on the Tigris a little above where the Nil Canal—on which is the town called Nil—flows in (I.S. 261). The city of Nahrawān is the place now called Sifwah (I.S. 269) on the Nahrawān, the great loop canal of the left bank of the Tigris which, starting from Dūr below Takrit, rejoined the Tigris again below Mādharāyā after a course of about 200 miles (I.S. 267). In its entirety this canal no longer exists, but its course can be traced, and from what Ḥamḍ-Allah reports it had gone out of use even in his day, for he gives the name of Nahrawān to what is now known as the Diyālā river. In Appendix IV (L. 216!) he writes that the Nahrawān river had two head streams, both of which rose in the mountains of Kurdistān. One of them was called the Shīrwān river from the district of that name on its upper course, and lower down reaching the Taymarrah District it took this latter name. Below this the Nahrawān, or Taymarrah, was joined by the other branch, which rose

¹ This place may be 'Askar-al-Mu'tashim, or the Camp Quarter, at Sāmarrā', where the Ahd shrines stood: see Yākūt, iii, 675; Muṣṭafāk, 309; Maṛāṣid, ii, 6.

in the mountains above Hulwān, at a spring in the Pass of Tāk-i-Kizā of the Gil wa Gilān District; thence flowing down past the cities of Hulwān, Kāṣr-i-Shīrīn, and Khānikīn to its junction with the other stream. Below the junction, and above Ba'kūbā, the united waters formed the Nahrawān, which finally flowed out into the Tigris a short distance below Baghdād.

The town of Hit lies on the Euphrates (I.S. 52), and Jubbah, if this be the right reading of the text, is a small place on an island in the Euphrates fifteen leagues above Hit. Lastly, Wāsit on the older course of the Tigris (now the Shatt-al-Hay) was a place of importance as late as the time of Timur (*Zafar Nāmah*, i, 657, and elsewhere), though at the present day its ruins have almost completely disappeared (I.S. 44).

REFERENCES TO MAP OF PERSIA.

The names of the stages on the post-roads will be found
in Appendix I on the Itineraries.

IRĀK ‘ĀJAM.—1, Firūzān; 2, Fārifān; 3, Varāmin; 4, Tīhrān and Shrine of Shāh ‘Abd-al-‘Ażīm; 5, Fārisjīn; 6, Sūmghān; 7, Sagsābād; 8, Abhar; 9, Āvah; 10, Sāvah; 11, Sunkūrābād; 12, Sujās and Suhravard; 13, Satūrīk; 14, Sarjāhān; 15, Ṣāīn Kal’ah; 16, Kāghadh Kunān or Khūnōj; 17, Muzdaķān; 18, Sāmān; 19, Ardīstān; 20, Dalījān; 21, Gulpaygān; 22, Zavārah; 23, Dih Sārūk; 24, Naṭānz; 25, İdhaj or Māl Amīr; 26, ‘Arūj or Sūsan; 27, Lurdagān; 28, Sābūrkhwāst; 29, Khurramābād; 30, Burūjīrd; 31, Saymarah; 32, Asadābād; 33, Ābah of Kharraqān; 34, Darguzīn; 35, Rūdarūd, Tuvi, and Sarkān; 36, Maybud; 37, Nāyīn.

ADHARBAYJĀN.—1, Awjān; 2, Tarūj or Ṭasūj; 3, Khalkhāl; 4, Shāl and Kulür; 5, Ahar; 6, Khoi; 7, Salmās; 8, Urmīyah; 9, Ushnūyah; 10, Sarāv; 11, Miyānij; 12, Pasavā; 13, Dih Khwārkān; 14, Laylān; 15, Marand; 16, Zangiyān and Bridge of Khudā Āfarīn; 17, Karkar and Bridge of Diyā-al-Mulk; 18, Nakhchivān; 19, Urdūbād.

MUGHĀN and ARRĀN.—1, Barzand; 2, Pilvār; 3, Maḥmūdābād; 4, Bardā’ah.

KURDISTĀN.—1, Alishtar; 2, Bahār; 3, Sultānābād Jamjamāl; 4, Shahrazūr; 5, Kirind and Kūshān; 6, Harsin; 7, Vastām or Bisütūn.

KHŪZISTĀN.—1, Junday Shāpūr; 2, Hawīzah; 3, Rāmhurmuz; 4, Sūs; 5, ‘Askar Mukram; 6, Masruqān town.

FĀRS.—1, Tawwaz; 2, Khabr; 3, Khunayfghān; 4, Ṣimkān; 5, Kavār; 6, Kārzīn, Kīr, and Abzar; 7, Kāriyān; 8, Lāghir; 9, Kūlān; 10, Mīmand; 11, İştākhr; 12, Abarlūh; 13, İklīd; 14, Surmaķ; 15, Baydā; 16, Kharrāmah; 17, Māyīn; 18, Band-i-Amīr; 19, Harāt; 20, Kuṭruh; 21, Kamin; 22, Kallār and

Kūrad; 23, Yazdikhwāst; 24, Dih Girdū; 25, Abādah; 26, Jahram; 27, Juvaym of Abu Ahmad; 28, Shāpūr; 29, Nawbanjān; 30, Tīr Murdān; 31, Jirrah; 32, Gunbad Mallaghān; 33, Khisht; 34, Kumārij; 35, Juvaym and Khullār; 36, Rīshahr; 37, Büstānak; 38, Mahrubān; 39, Sīnīz; 40, Jaunābā.

SHEĀBĀNKĀRAH.—1, Darkān or Zarkān; 2, Iṣṭahbānān; 3, Niriz; 4, Khayrah; 5, Tārum; 6, Kurm and Rūbanz.

KURISTĀN.—1, Bajistān; 2, Junābād; 3, Daslīt-ī-Biyād and Fāris; 4, Birjand; 5, Khusf; 6, Isfad; 7, Istind; 8, Shārakhs; 9, Tabas Kīlakī; 10, Tabas Masīnān; 11, Darah Castle.

KŪRĀSĀN.—1, Isfarāyin; 2, Bayhaq or Sabzivār; 3, Biyār; 4, Khudāshah of Juvayn; 5, Mashhad-i-Imām Ridā; 6, Fūshanj; 7, Kusūy; 8, Khargird; 9, Mälān of Bākharz; 10, Gunābād of Bādgīz; 11, Jām, and Būzjān or Pūchkān; 12, Khwāf; 13, Salām; 14, Sanjān; 15, Zūzan; 16, Abivard; 17, Khavārūn.

KŪMIS.—1, Khuvār or Mahallah Bāgh; 2, Samnān; 3, Āhūvān; 4, Girdkūh; 5, Firūzkūh.

GĪLĀN.—1, Tūlim; 2, Shaft; 3, Fūmin; 4, Kawtam; 5, Lāhijān.

Chapter 2. ‘Irāk ‘Ajam.

Contents : Iṣfahān, 142*f*, and its eight districts, viz., Jay, Mārbīn, Karārij, Kahāb, Burkhuwār, Khānlānjan, Barān, and Rūdasht, with their villages, 143*s*; Firūzān, 143*w*; Ray, 143*y*; Tīhrān, 144*r*; Varāmīn, 144*s*; Sultāniyah, 144*v*; Kazvīn, 145*k*; Abhar, 146*t*; the Districts of Daylam and Tālish, 147*a*; Āvah, 147*e*; the Rūdbār District, with Castles of Alamūt and Maymūn Diz, 147*l*; Zanjān, 147*v*; Sūvah, 148*e*; Sāuj Bulāk, Sujās, and Suhravard, 148*g*; Satūrīk, 148*v*; the two Tārum Districts, 149*d*; Sarjahān and Kuhūd or Ṣāyīn Kal‘ah, 149*a*; the Tālikān District, 149*l*; Kūghadh Kunān or Khūnej, 149*p*; Muzdakān and Sāmān, 149*v*; Tabarik, Marjamnān, and Andajan Districts, 149*y*; Pushkil Darrah, 150*e*; Kum, 150*f*; Kāshān and Fin, 150*l*; Ardistān and the Tafrīsh District, 150*s*; Jurbādakān or Gulpaygān, 150*v*; Dalījān, 150*y*; Zavārah, 151*a*; Farāhān and Dih Sūrūk, 151*b*; Karaj, 151*e*; Naṭanz, 151*j*; Nismūr, 151*k*; Marāvadīn, 151*l*;

Vashāk, 151^m; Great Lur District, 151^o; Īdhaj, 151^q; Aruh or Sūs, 151^r; Lurdakān, 151^s; Little Lur District, 151^t; Burūjird, 151^w; Khurramābād and Samsā, 151^w; Saymarah, 151^x; Ilamadān, 151^y, and its five districts, viz., Farīvār, Azmādin, Sharūhīn, A'lam, and Surdrūd, with their villages, 152^g; Asadābād, 152^o; the districts of Mūja'lū and Tāmsār, 152^p; the District of Kharraqān, with the (northern) Āvah, 152^q; Darguzīn, 152^s; Kūdrāwar, Tuvī, and Sūrkān, 152^v; Sūmān, 152^y; Shabd Bahar and Fūlān, 152^z; Nihāvand, 153^a; Yazd, 153^d; Maybud and Nūyin, 153^l.

What had of old been the province of Media the Arabs named Al-Jibāl—‘the Mountains’—a perfectly appropriate name, as will be seen by a glance at the map, for the great mountain region separating the plains of Mesopotamia from the highlands of Persia. In the time of the Saljūk princes, by some misnomer, this, their capital province, came to be called ‘Irāk ‘Ajāmī, or *Persian* ‘Irāk, a name that was totally unknown to the earlier Arab geographers. Hence in after days Al-‘Irākayn, ‘The Two ‘Irāks,’ were taken to mean Media and Lower Mesopotamia, which last for distinction was thenceforth called *Arabian* ‘Irāk — ‘Irāk ‘Arabi. Originally, it is to be observed, Al-‘Irākayn had been a term applied to the two great *cities* of (Arabian) ‘Irāk, namely, Kūfah and Baṣrah; but the Saljūks had affected the title of Sultān of the Two ‘Irāks, which in consequence, as explained above, came to be applied to the two provinces, but as Abu-l-Fidā (p. 408) writes “among the vulgar,” and wrongfully (see also Yākūt, ii, 15, and Lane, *Dictionary*, s.v. ‘Irāk). The name, however, has continued in use down to the present time.

Further, it is to be remarked that after the Mongol settlement Persian ‘Irāk was greater in extent to the eastward than the older Arab province of Jibāl, by the addition thereto of Yazd and its district, which formerly had been counted as of Fārs; on the other hand, it had been diminished in size by the creation of the new province of Kurdistān, which had been taken from its western part, and Kurdistān now divided Persian from Arabian ‘Irāk. Under the Ilkhāns Persian

Irāk became the capital province of their empire, for it included the four great cities of Isfahān, Ray, Hamadān, and Sultāniyah, the new metropolis recently founded by Uljaytū.

The eight districts of Isfahān mentioned by Hamd-Allah all exist at the present day (as do many of the villages which he also enumerates, and which are described by General Schindler in *Eastern Persian 'Irāk*, pp. 120, 122). The city, he says, originally consisted of four wards (still existing in name), viz., Karrān, Kūshk, Jūbārah, and Dardasht, the walls round these having been built by Rukn-ad-Dawlah the Buyid. In the Julbārah quarter (now pronounced Gulbārah, and lying to the north-east of modern Isfahān, round the Maydān-i-Kuhnāh or Old Square) was the Madrasah (College) and tomb of Sultān Muhammād the Saljūk, and here might be seen a block of stone weighing 10,000 *man* (equivalent, perhaps, to a little less than 32 tons weight), this being a great idol carried off by the Sultan from India, and set up before the College-gate (L. 142*u*). History, however, does not record that this Sultān Muhammād (a son of Malik-Shāh, who reigned from 498 to 511 A.H.) made any conquests in India, nor does Hamd-Allah himself allude to the fact in the *Gusīdah* when treating of his reign.

Isfahān lay on the northern or left bank of the river Zandah-rūd, which is described as rising in the mountains of Zardah Kūh, the 'Yellow Mountains,' still so called from their yellow limestone cliffs (L. 204*q*). Of this region also were the Ashkahrān mountains, lying on the frontiers of Greater Lur (L. 202*u*). After passing the cities of Firūzān [1]¹ and Isfahān, the Zandah-rūd flowed through the district of Rūdasht, of which the chief town was Fārifān [2], and there became lost in the great swamp of Gāvkhānī. The river was also known as the Zāyindah or Zarīn-rūd, and, according to popular belief, after sinking into the Gāvkhānī swamp, it flowed for sixty leagues underground to Kirmān,

¹ The numbers in square brackets refer to the Map.

when it rose again to the surface and thence attained the sea (L. 214r). Besides Isfahān town, the Isfahān district included the two great cities of Fārifān and Firūzān. The former still exists as a village (Schindler, op. cit., p. 126) not far from the Gāvkhānī swamp. Firūzān city has apparently disappeared from the map, but according to our author it stood on the river bank in the Khānlanjān District, and paid revenue to the amount of 164,000 dīnārs (about £41,125). Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 52), who visited the town, says it was six farsakhs distant from Isfahān.

The city of Ray (Rhages) was ruined during the Mongol invasion. Mustawfi says that in the time of Ghazan Khān the houses were in part rebuilt, but Varāmīn [3] had already supplanted it and become the chief town of the province. The Shrine of the Imām-Zādah 'Abd-al-'Azīm¹ was to be seen near Ray, as mentioned in the Itinerary (Route ix), and the castle which was called Tabarik lay at the foot of the hill of Kūh Tabarik to the north, where there are said to have been silver-mines (L. 205f). Of this castle, however, apparently no trace exists, though the Shrine of Shāh 'Abd-al-'Azīm is still a famous place of visitation. Mention is made of the river Kardān-rūd, which waters the Ray Districts; thence flowing out to the desert; and some other lesser streams are also named as coming down from the Kharraqān District; also the Jāij-rūd from Damāvand and the river Garm-rūd or Kūh-rūd of Sāuj-Bulāk (L. 216v, x, and 217r, v, x, but cf. *Jihān Nūma*, p. 304). The great mountain of Damāvand rose to the north of Ray, visible from a distance 100 leagues away, and of its many marvels

¹ Otherwise called Husayn, a son of the eighth Imām, 'Alī-ar-Ridā. Tabarik is also the name of the Castle of Isfahān, which, according to 'Alī of Yazd (*Zafar Nāma*, i, 431), was occupied by Timur, and of which the ruins still exist. The foundation of Kal'ah Tabarik of Ray is ascribed by Zahir-ad-Din (Dorn, *Muhammedanische Quellen*, i, p. 15 of the Persian text) to Manūchahr the Ziyārid, at the beginning of the fifth century (the eleventh A.D.), and he states that *Tabarik* means a 'hillock,' being the diminutive form of *Tabar*, signifying a 'hill or mountain,' in the Tabaristān dialect. According to Yākūt (iii, 507), Tabarik of Ray was destroyed in 588 (1192 A.D.) by Tughril II, the last Saljuq Sultān of 'Irāk, and Yākūt gives a long account of the siege of the famous castle.

Hamd-Allah gives a full account (L. 203z). Tīhrān, the present capital of Persia [4], was already in the time of Hamd-Allah a fair-sized town, though formerly, he says, a mere village. Both Ray and Varāmīn are now only marked by ruin-heaps lying some distance to the south of Tīhrān.

Sultāniyah, founded by Arghūn Khān, was completed by Uljayūt, who made it the capital of Irān; and he was buried here in a magnificent sepulchre, the ruins of which still exist. Hamd-Allah has much to say about Kazvīn, his native town, with its dependent villages, among which were Dahand, Fārisjīn [5], Sūmghān [6], and Sagsābād [7], lying on the road eastward as named in Routes ix and xxvi. He also describes its many streams, namely, the Khar-rūd, the Būh-rūd, the Turkhān-rūd, the Kazvīn river, and the Āb-i-Kharraqān (L. 217*j*, *q*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *v*, and *Jihān Numā*, p. 305). These streams had their sources for the most part in the Barchīn Kūh and the Rākhid (or Rāhand) mountain (L. 203*s* and 204*n*). Abhar [8], on the river of the same name (L. 217*g*), had a famous castle called Haydarīyah, after Haydar its builder, one of the Saljūk princes; and to the north of Abhar on the Gilān frontier lay the Daylam and Tālīsh districts, among which were the towns of Ashkūr, Khawkān, and Khasjān (but the reading of these three last names is very uncertain, and they are not given by other writers, nor are they to be found on the map). The city of Āvah [9], between Sāvah [10] and Kum, stood on its river, the Gāvmāhā-rūd, which flows down from near Hamadān in the west to the great dam between Sāvah and Āvah, where it forms a lake (L. 217*a*).

The Rūdbār district, in which stood the ruins of the famous castles of the Assassins, lay along the course of the river Shāh-rūd, the lowest of the many affluents of the Safid-rūd; and the District was at some distance to the north of Kazvīn (L. 215*n*). The city of Zanjān lay on the Zanjān river, also called the Māj-rūd (L. 217*e*), which was another affluent of the Safid-rūd; and the town of Zanjān is said by Mustawfi to have been named Shahīn by its first

founder, King Ardashir Bābagān. The city of Sāvah [10], chiefly remarkable for its lake, which history reported had miraculously dried up at the birth of the prophet Muhammad, lay on the Muzdakān river (L. 217n); and a number of villages are named by Mustawfi in the Sāvah District, of which, however, the readings are uncertain, and they are not to be found on the map. Sāūj-Bulāk, the name of the district round Sunkurābād [11], meaning 'the cold spring,' is given in some MSS. (e.g., British Museum, Add. 23,543, and Cambridge, Add. 2,624), but this paragraph is omitted in the lithographed text. Under the Mongols it was considered as of the Sāvah Province, though it had originally been counted as of Ray; its villages were Kharāv and Najmābād.

Sujās and Suhravard [12] were before the Mongol invasion important towns according to Iṣṭakhri (pp. 196, 200) and Yākūt (iii, 40, 203); they are now apparently not marked on any modern map, though Sir H. Rawlinson, writing in 1840 (Journ. Roy. Geographical Society, x, 66), speaks of Sujās as a small village then existing, with Suhravard close to it. According to Ḥamd-Allah, Sujās was five leagues distant to the south of Sultāniyah (L. 145h), and the surrounding districts were called Jarūd and Anjarūd, apparently identical with Ijarūd and Angurān of the present maps. In the hills near Sujās was the grave of Arghūn Khān, of which a long account is given in the *Nuzhat*. The town of Satūrīk [13] lay at the western end of the Anjarūd district, and was celebrated for its palace, rebuilt by Abakah Khān, and the lake which was reported to be bottomless. This is the well-known Takht-i-Sulaymān, described by Sir H. Rawlinson (J.R.G.S., x, 65), who would identify this place as the site of the northern Ecbatana. The castle of Sarjahān [14] has disappeared from the map, but it lay five leagues to the east of Sultāniyah on the Tārum mountain, and Yākūt (iii, 70), who had visited it, reports that it was one of the strongest castles of the district, and from its towers the city of Zanjān was plainly visible.

Şāin Ḳal'ah [15], which still exists,¹ this being the Mongol name for the Kuhūd village, lay south of the Tārum district, otherwise called the Tārumayn, 'the two Tārums,' Upper and Lower, of which the capital formerly had been Firuzābād. Of Upper Tārum the chief town was Andar, with many dependent villages; in Lower Tārum the most important place was the Castle of Samirān or Shamirān, of which Yākūt (iii, 148) gives a long account. The streams of the Tārum districts all flowed into the river Safid-rūd (L. 217*k*), and the name of this district (Tārum) is still marked on the map. The Tālikān district, which in the time of Hamd-Allah lay to the south-east of Tārum, apparently no longer exists, and the towns of Jarūd, Kūhbānah, and Karaj, which our author mentions, are no longer to be found. Kāghadh Kunān, 'the Paper Factory,' or Khūnaj [16], was an important place, the position of which is fixed by the Itinerary (Route xx) as south of the river Safid-rūd and fourteen leagues north of Zanjān, in the district known as the Mughūliyah. Muzdakān [17], which gave its name to the Sāvah river, as already mentioned, still exists, also Sāmān [18] at the place where the river rises. The three villages of Tabarik, Marjamnān, and Andijān lay among the hills to the north of Abhar [8], but have apparently now disappeared, and the Pushkil Darrah district was that lying to the east of Kazvīn and south of Tālikān.

The holy city of Kum was watered by the Gulpaygān river (L. 216*s*), and between Kum and Āvah was the salt mountain called Kūh-Namak-Lawn, a solitary hill, the summit of which was said to be unattainable (L. 206*x*). The neighbouring city of Kāshān (which the older geographers always spelt Kāshān, with the dotted ă) had its water from the Kuhrūd hills, the stream flowing to the desert (L. 217*m*). Ardistān [19], to the south-east of Kāshān, and the Tafrish districts, to the westward of Kum, still exist, and Dalijān [20] lies about half-way between Kāshān and Gulpaygān [21],

¹ Meaning 'the Castle of Şāin,' possibly called after Şāin, otherwise Bātū Khān, grandson of Changhīs Khān.

which latter town of old was called Jurbādākān. The hamlet of Zawārah [22] lies on the desert border near Ardīstān.

Coming to the western side of Persian Trāk, the Farāhān District—of which the chief town was Dih Sārūk [23], visited recently by Mrs. Bishop (*Kurdistan*, i, 146)—is the region lying eastward of Hamadūn. The chief town here at the present time is Sultānābād, founded in the reign of Fath-'Alī Shāh at the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Ḥamad-Allah there was a lake here, which the Mongols called Jaghār Nāzūd (but the reading is uncertain), which is doubtless the present Lake of Tualā to the north of Sultānābād. Dawlatābād was of the Farāhān villages, and this is still an important place lying to the east of Nihāvand. The city of Karaj, called Karaj of Abu Dulaf, has entirely disappeared from the map. Its position is given in the Itinerary (Route vii), and from the fact that the town lay to the south of the Rāsmand mountains, which are those now known under the name of Rāsband, it is easy to locate the site. The streams from these hills watered the celebrated pastures called Marghzār Kītū (or Kīsū) lying round the town; and its castle was named Farzīn (L 204h). Returning once more to the eastern side of the province, near the desert border was Naṭanz [24], with the castles called Nīsmūr and Washāk, with the District of Marāwadīn, but the reading of these three last names is very uncertain, and with the exception of Washāk, which is mentioned in the *Gusīdah* (see E. G. Browne, J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 25, n. 4), being also copied into the *Jihān Numā* (p. 299), these names do not occur elsewhere.

In the south-western corner of the province of Persian Trāk was Luristān, divided between the Greater and the Lesser Lur districts. Īdhaj, otherwise known as Māl-Amīr [25], was the capital of Great Lur, the district which lay entirely to the south of the great bend of the Kārūn (between its left bank and the plain-country); and Great Lur for the most part had been counted as of Khūzistān by the Arab geographers. Īdhaj was famous for its bridge, and its

whirlpool, and the city has been described by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 29), who visited this region. The town of 'Arūj, or 'Arūh, otherwise called Sūsan, or Sūs [26], also lay on the Kārūn river, some four leagues to the north-west of Māl-Amīr, and this place must not be confounded with the other Sūs in Khūzistān to the south of Dizfūl. Its ruins have been described by Sir H. Rawlinson, and were visited by Sir H. Layard (see the J.R.G.S. for 1839, ix, 83; also 1842, xii, 103). Lurdagān, or Lurkān [27], is found on the map near the affluent joining the Kārūn at its extreme western point. The district of Lesser Lur was the highland to the north of the great bend of the Kārūn; and in his *Guzīlah Hamd-Allah* gives the following account of this district, which is worth quoting¹:—

"In the province of Lesser Lur are three rivers, namely, the Āb-i-Silākhūr flowing down to Dizfūl, the Khurramābād river which goes towards Hawīzah, and the Kazkī (?) river which also flows down by Dizfūl towards Hawīzah. And there are three towns that are still flourishing placos, namely, Burūjird, Khurramābād, and Sābūrkhwāst. This last was of old an immense city, extremely populous, being inhabited by people from all nations, for it was the residence of kings: it is now, however, merely a provincial town. Finally, in Lesser Lur are three ruined cities named Kirisht (?), Būrisht (?), and Saymarah."

The importance of this passage lies in the proof here given that Sābūrkhwāst is *not* identical with Khurramābād, as has been often supposed, since both towns existed in the time of Mustawfi; and the fact is confirmed by his statement in the Itinerary (Route vii) that, bifurcating at Burūjird from the Karaj high road, "the road to Sābūrkhwāst here goes off to the right hand" (L. 195r). The ruins of Sābūrkhwāst [28] have not yet been identified, but they must

¹ The paragraph is given at the end of Section xi of Chapter IV, immediately before the Section devoted to the Mongols. It is wanting in many MSS., but occurs in the old MS. of which I made a copy in Shiraz in 1880, and also is found in the British Museum MSS. numbered Add. 7,630, Add. 22,693, and Egerton, 690.

be sought for some few leagues to the south of Khurramābād [29]. The town of Burūjird [30] is frequently mentioned by İstakhrī (pp. 258, 262) and Yākūt (i, 596); the Arab geographers, however, appear not to have known of Khurramābād in Lesser Lur, and Hamd-Allah is probably the earliest authority to mention this important town. He says that datos grew well both here and at Şaymarah [31], the old capital of the Mihrajānḳadhaḳ District; according to Ibn Rustah (p. 269) and Yākūt (iii, 443), already in the fourteenth century a.d. a ruin. Şaymarah is marked on the map at some distance from the western bank of the Karkhah river, but I am unable to identify Samsā (or Samhā) and Diz-i-Siyāh, 'the Black Castle,' which stood near it according to our author. Somewhere in Lesser Lur also was the mountain called Huwayn (or Harīn) Kūh, where there were celebrated iron-mines (L. 207b). In regard to the three rivers of Lesser Lur mentioned in the *Guzədah*, these are referred to again in the *Nuzhat* (L. 215u, v). Silākhūr is the name of the plain in which Burūjird stands, and its river is the chief source of the Āb-i-Diz; further the Kazkī is apparently the affluent now known as the Āb-i-Baznoi. The Khurramābād river drains to the Karkhah, which Hamd-Allah describes as passing through the Hawīzah country, and this latter river now joins the Kārūn below Ahwāz, as will be noticed in the chapter on Khuzistān. The Karkhah and its affluents came down from the Alvand mountain (L. 202p), lying southward of Hamadān; its peaks were almost always covered with snow, and forty-two streams take their rise in this region, which, says Mustawfi, measures thirty leagues in circumference.

Hamadān city, when Hamd-Allah wrote, was for the most part in ruin; it included five townships, Kal'ah Kabrīt—'Sulphur Castle'—Kal'ah Mākin, Girdlākh, the Kishlāk or 'Winter Quarters' of Shujā'-ad-Dīn Khürshīd, and Kūrasht. The surrounding province comprised five other Districts with many villages, namely, Farīvār (or Karīwār), Azmādīn (or Azyārdīn), Sharūhīn (or Sharāmīn), A'lām, with Sardrūd and Barbandrūd (or Barhanarūd). None of

these names appear on the present map (those given in parenthesis are from the Turkish text of the *Jihān Numā*, p. 300); but Farīvār was watered by the upper affluent of the Gāvmāhā or Gāvmāsā river (already mentioned), which rose in the hills of Asadābād [32] to the north-west of the city (L. 217a).

The places called Māja'lū and Tamsār appear to be unknown, but the two districts of Kharraqān (marked Karaghān on our maps) are those lying to the south-west of Kāzvīn, towards which and out eastward to Ray the Kharraqān streams took their course (L. 217v), as already described. The chief town in the Kharraqān District is Ābah [33] or Āvah (not to be confounded with Āvah near Sūvah, already mentioned), and there were besides forty other villages. The Darguzīn District lies between Kharraqān and Hamadān, Darguzīn [34] being also the name of the chief town of the district, and this formerly had been included in A'lam, one of the five Districts, as already mentioned, of Hamadān, which, says Ḥamd-Allah, by the Persians was called Alāmar. Rūdarūd or Rūdrāvar [35] was a large town, the ruins of which still exist at Rūdilāvar (*Mission Scientifique*, De Morgan, ii, 136), near Tuvī and Sarkān. These ruins probably also represent the older town of Karāj of Hamadān, which, according to Yākūt (ii, 832; iv, 251), was the capital of this Rūdarūd district, and lay seven leagues distant both from Hamadān and from Nihāvand. Here were the five Districts named from the rivers Hind-rūd, Sarkān-rūd, Karzān-rūd, Lamī-rūd, and Barazināhin respectively.

Sāmān of Kharraqān, at the headwaters of the Muzdakān river, has already been mentioned. Shabdabahar and Fūlād (the readings are uncertain) are districts no longer shown on our maps, but which probably lay near the city of Nihāvand; and this last, Mustawfi writes, comprised three Districts, named Malāir, Isfidhān, and Jahūk, which, however, are likewise not to be found on modern maps. Coming finally to the south-eastern corner of the province of Persian 'Irāk, Ḥamd-Allah notices the cities of Yazd, Maybud [36], and Nāyīn [37], which, as he rightly remarks, were formerly

counted as belonging to İştakhr (Persepolis), and hence were of the province of Fārs.

Chapter 3. Adharbayjān.

Contents: Tabrīz, 153^p, and its seven districts, viz., Mihrān-rūd, Sard-rūd, Sāvīl-rūd, Arūnak, Rūdkab, Khānum-rūd, and Bidūstān, 155^e; Awjān, 155^v; Tasūj or Tarūj, 156^a; Ardabil, 156^e; Khalkhāl and Firūzābād, 156^k; Dārmāraz, 156^s. The Shūhrūd district, 156^l; the Pishkūn district, 156^o; Unār and Arjāk, 157^a; Ahar, 157^d; Takallafah and Jiyār, 157^f; Darāvard, 157^h; Kal'ah Kahrān, 157^j; Kalantar, 157^k; Kīlān-Faqlūn, 157^m; Murdān Na'im, 157ⁿ; Naw-Diz, 157^o; Maft, 157^s; Khuví or Khoi, 157^t; Salmūs, 157^x; Urmīyah, 158^b; Ushnūyah, 158^g; Sarūv, 158^k; Miyānij and the Garm-rūd, 158ⁿ; Marāghah, 158^q; Pasavā, 158^x; Dih Khwārkān, 158^s; Laylān, 159^b; Marand, 159^e; Dizmār, 159^h; Zanjīyān, 159^l; Rīwaz, 159^m; Karkar, 159ⁿ; Nakhchivān, 159^o; Akhbān and Urdubad, 159^r.

Hamd-Allah notes that the capital of Adharbayjān under the earlier Mongols had been Marāghah, but this pre-eminence had in his day been transferred to Tabrīz.¹ A very full account is next given of Tabrīz, beginning with its early history, and how it had recently been rebuilt and enlarged by Ghāzān Khān. Details follow of the new walls, with the ten city gates, also of the outer suburb and wall, with its six gates. Tabrīz, according to Hamd-Allah, was the largest city in Persia; it was watered by the river Mihrān-rūd, which rose in the Sahand mountain lying to the south, and round the city lay the seven districts (given above) called for the most part after the various streams which irrigate their lands (the reading of these

¹ The Arab geographers generally give Ardabil as the capital city; and this became also the capital of Persia under the earlier Safavī kings, until Shāh Abbās removed his court to Isfahān.

names, however, is in many cases very uncertain). The Mihrān-rūd, which ran through the suburbs of Tabrīz, and the Sard-rūd to the south-west, which also came down from Mount Sahand, both joined the Sarāv-rūd at a short distance to the north of the city; and this latter river, which rose in the great mountain district called Sablān-kūh to the north-east of Tabrīz, flowed out into the Urmīyah Lake, some forty miles away to the westward of the city. The mountains of Sahand and Sablān, as also these various streams, are all carefully described by Hamd-Allah in Appendices II and IV (L. 204*a*, 205*b*, 217*c*, 218*e, j*).

The Urmīyah Lake appears to have been known to Hamd-Allah under the name of the Lake of Khanjast,¹ but the origin of the name is nowhere explained. He also frequently refers to it as the Salt Lake (Daryā-i-Shūr), or as the Lake of Tarūj or Tasūj, from the name of the town near its northern shore; and he writes that in an island of the lake the Mongol Princes had their burial-place under a great hill (L. 226*f*). The town of Awjān, or Ujān [1], which Ghāzān Khān had rebuilt, lies to the east of Tabrīz, and its river, which rises in Mount Sahand, joins the Sarāv-rūd (L. 218*o*). Tarūj [2] or Tasūj,² which sometimes gave its name to the Urmīyah Lake, lay close to its northern shore, and to the west of Tabrīz.

Ardabil lay at the foot of Mount Sablān, on the river Andarāb, also called the Ardabil river; this, after passing the Bridge of 'Ali-Shāh, became an affluent of the Ahar

¹ The MSS. vary greatly as to the spelling of the name; *Janjast*, *Janjish*, *Khanjant*, and *Hanjast* appear with other variants. The mediæval Arab geographers knew of the lake also under various names: thus Ma'ūdī (i, 98) and Ibn Hawkal (p. 247) call it the Lake of Kabūdhān, Iṣṭakhrī (p. 181) writes of the Buhayrab-ash-Sharāt, and in Muqaddasī (p. 380) it is called merely the Lake of Urmīyah. Abu-l-Fidā (p. 42) knows it as the Lake of Tilā; and according to Hāfiẓ Abrū (MSS., folio 27*a*) the island in the middle of the lake (now the Shāhī peninsula, which only becomes an island at flood-water: see R. T. Günther, *Geographical Journal* for 1899, p. 516) was crowned by the castle known as Kal'ah Tilā, said to have been built by Hūlāgū Khān. He had stored his treasures here, and after his death his tomb was made in this castle, which henceforth was called Gür-Kal'ah, or 'Tomb-Castle.'

² Both spellings are given in the MSS. and occur on the present maps. In the map in the paper referred to in the previous note, Mr. Günther gives the name as Turseh.

river, which last flowed into the Aras (L. 217*w*). Above Ardabil, on the slopes of Mount Sablān, stood the Castles of Diz Bahmān and Diz Rūyīn (or Rūbīn) with some others (L. 204*w*). Khalkhāl is still the name of the District at the foot of Mount Sablān; in the time of Mustawfi it was also the name of its chief town [3], but this has apparently disappeared. The town, according to Yākūt (i, 198) and the Itinerary, was two days' march from Ardabil. In former times Firūzābād had been the capital of the Khalkhāl District, and Mustawfi mentions a number of the neighbouring villages (Amidah, Khānidah-Bil, Sanjad-rūd, and Zanjilābād), but none of these unfortunately are now to be found on the map. Dārmaraz, with the villages of Kūl, Jānkū, and Zāhar, was of this neighbourhood. Shāhīd was the District on the stream called the Āb-Shāl, an affluent of the Safid-rūd (L. 218*b*). Of this district the chief places were Shāl [4] and Kulūr (which still exist), and adjacent lay the Tālīsh (or Tawālīsh) District of 'Irāk 'Ajamī. Pishkīn (which in the present maps is written Mi-hkīn) is the name of the District of which Ahar [5] was the chief town; the town of Pishkīn also existed, and formerly was known as Varāvī, lying one march from Ahar. A number of other places were of this district, among them Takallafah, Unār, which with Varāvī is described by Yākūt (i, 367; iv, 918), also Arjāk, Jiyūr, and Kalantar, this last being at the foot of the hill called Siyāh Kūh, 'the black mountain' (L. 205*k*). Most of the other places in Pishkīn here mentioned must have stood on the southern slopes of the Sablān mountain (L. 204*w*), though only the last named, Kalantar, now appears on the map, Ibn Pishkīn being the family name of the Amir of the Province.

The city of Ahar [5] lay on the river of the same name (the Ahar-rūd). This flowed down from the Pass of Armānān, which the Mongols called Gūlchah Nil (Blue Lake), and after taking up the Ardabil river discharged into the Aras (L. 217*y*; see also Route xxiii). To the north of Ahar was the mountain called Sarahand (L. 205*e*), and in the neighbourhood at the foot of Mount Sablān stood the

following places, namely, Darāvard, where the Mongols had their winter quarters, the Castle of Kahrān, Kilān-Faḍlūn, and Māft (some MSS. have Yāft, and Bāft is printed in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 385). Murdān Na'īm apparently lay to the northward of Ahar, on the Aras river. The castle of Naw-Diz (surrounded by the towns of Hūl, Būl, Hinduvān, and Bulūk-Injū) stood on the upper waters of the Ahar river and is described by Yākūt (iv, 822). The city of Khuvi [6], or Khoi, stands on an affluent of the Aras which rose in the mountains to the north of Salmās [7]. This latter city, as well as Urmīyah [8], which now gives its name to the Lake, and Ushnūyah [9], all lie at some distance to the westward from the shore, standing on streams that flow into the Lake. The town of Sarāv [10], otherwise written Sarāt or Sarāb, lies under Sablān Kūh in the midst of four Districts, these are named by Mustawfi Warzand, Darand, Barāghūsh, and Sakhrī; its stream has already been mentioned as the most important of the rivers flowing through Tabrīz.

Miyānah or Miyānij [11], formerly a large town, but when our author wrote a mere village, stands in the Garm-rūd or 'Hot River' district. At some distance above the town the river Garm-rūd, which rises in the mountains south of Sarāv, joins the left bank of the Miyānij river, and this last below the town further receives the water of the Hasht-rūd—'Eight Streams'—on its right bank, which, before flowing in, passed under a great bridge of thirty-two arches, and had its source in the hills to the eastward of Marāghah (L. 218*b*, *n*, *q*; also *Jihān Numā*, p. 388). The Miyānij river itself came down from the west, rising in the country south of Ujān; after receiving the streams of its two affluents, it turned northward at no great distance from the town of Miyānij, and poured its water into the Safid-rūd, which from this point, and down a considerable length of its lower course, formed the boundary between the provinces of Adharbayjān and Persian 'Irāk. The Safid-rūd—'White River'—which Mustawfi says the Turks called Hūlān Mūlān (evidently a corruption

of the Mongol words *Ulan Mören*), meaning 'Red River,'¹ had its head-waters in the Kurdistān province in the Jibāl Panj Angusht, called in Turkish Besh-parmak, both names signifying the 'Five-finger-mountain.' Flowing northward, the Safid-rūd first received the Zanjān river (already mentioned in Chapter 2) on its right bank, then the Miyānij rivers on its left bank, and, next turning westward, received also on its left bank the united streams of the Sanjīdāh and Gādīv-rūd (given in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 388, as Sanjad and Kadpū) coming down from the hills to the south of Ardabil (L. 218f), the position of which river is fixed by the Itinerary (Route xx). Below this, and also on the left bank, there flowed in the Shāl river² from the Shāhrūd District, already spoken of in a previous paragraph. After passing through the Tālīsh district, the Safid-rūd was next joined on its right bank by the Tārum river, and then by the river Shāh-rūd of the Country of the Assassins, both of which streams have already been mentioned in Chapter 2, and finally in Kawtām of the Gilān Province the Safid-rūd flowed out to the Caspian (L. 215c).

Marāghah, one of the former capitals of the province of Adharbayjān, stood on the river Sāfi-rūd, which, rising in Mount Saband, flowed out directly, or indirectly by overflowing into the bed of the Jaghtū-rūd, into the Urmīyah Lake (L. 218g). The city of Marāghah was famous for the Observatory built by the order of Hūlāgū Khān for Nāṣir-ad-Dīn of Tūs, the astronomer, but in the time of Hamd-Allah this building was already in ruins.³ The districts of Marāghah are given as Sarājūn, Niyājūn, Dazakh-rūd, Gāvdūl, Hasht-rūd, Bihistān, Angūrān, and Kūl Uzān

¹ Part of its course is now known as the Kizil Uzen, which in Turkish has the same meaning. For the Mongol words see *Mongolisch-Deutsch Wörterbuch*, by J. J. Schmidt, pp. 52b and 223c. From this and other passages, it is clear that Mustawfi uses *Mugħħal* (Mongol) and *Turk* indifferently.

² This stream is now called the Shāhrūd, like the great right bank affluent from the mountains north of Kazvin, with which it must not be confounded.

³ These are described by General Schindler in the Berlin *Zeitschrift für Erdkunde*, 1883, p. 338, and a plan is there given.

but the spellings are uncertain. Basawā [12] or Pasavā will be found on the map to the south-east of Ushnūyah, and Dih Khwārkān [13], on a stream from Mount Saband, lies near the eastern shore of Lake Urmīyah. Laylān [14]—the MSS. generally spell the name Naylān—is on the Jaghtū river, which, side by side with the river Taghtū, both rising in the Kurdistān hills, flows into the lake from the south. At periods of high flood the waters of the rivers Sāfi, Taghtū, and Jughtū all mingle together in the swamp formed at the south-western corner of the Urmīyah Lake (L. 218*b*, *p*).

The town of Marand [15] lies to the north of the lake, and its river, which is also called the Zūlū, is a tributary of the Khoi (or Khuvi) river, which flows to the Aras (L. 218*f*). To the northward of Marand lay the castle of Dizmār, on a tributary of the Aras, which Yākūt (ii, 573) has also described. Zanjiyān or Zangiyan [16] stood near the bridge over the Aras called Pūl-i-Khudā Āfarīn, and this was counted as of the Murdān Na'īm district mentioned above. In this neighbourhood also appears to have been the town of Rīvaz—some MSS. give Zāthūr and Dīvaz, with Zanūz in the *Jihān Nūmā* (*p*. 387). Karkar [17] is mentioned by Yākūt (iv, 262), and is possibly identical with the fortress named Hisār Karni (from a mistake of the copyist) by 'Alī of Yazd; it stood close to the great bridge over the Aras, built by Dīyā-al-Mulk, son of Malik-Shāh's Wazīr, the celebrated Nīzām-al-Mulk. 'Alī of Yazd describes this bridge at some length (*Zafar Nāmah*, i, 399), and it crossed the Aras on the direct road from Nakchivān to Marand.

Nakchivān [18], which the Arab geographers called Nashawā, lies to the north of the Aras, and four leagues from the city was the snow-clad mountain of Māst-Kūh (L. 206*r*). The fortress of Alanjik, according to Saint Martin (*Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, i, 146), was called Erenjag in Armenian, and lay a short distance to the east of Nakchivān. Mustawfi also speaks of Shūrmārī, Naghaz, and Faghān as fortresses of the Nakchivān District; and probably likewise of this

neighbourhood was Akhbān (or Ajnān), known as the Kār-khānah or 'Workshop,' on account of the works at the neighbouring copper-mine. Urdūbād [19] stands on the Aras, at the junction of a stream from the north, which Mustawfi says rises in Mount Kiyān (or Kibān), and on this same river higher up lay Azād, the last town mentioned in this chapter.

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Chapter 4. Mughān and Arrān.

Contents : Bajārvān, 159z; Barzand, 160f; Pilvār, 160j; Maḥmūdābād and Hamshahrah, 160k; Baylaqān, 160n; Ganjah, 160p; Bardarrah, 160s; Hirak, 160v.

Mughān or Mūkān is still the name of the Steppe country lying south of the lower course of the Aras river. Ḥamḍ-Allah states that this district stretched from the right bank of the river southward to the pass of Sang-bar-Sang—'Stone upon Stone'—in the hills above Pishkin, and that from the plain the mountain of Sablān Kūh was everywhere visible. As of this province he also mentions (L. 206k) the region called Gulistān Kūh—'Rose-garden mountain'—noted for its flowers, and here the Mu'lāhid sect or Assassins had their famous paradise. Bajārvān had of old been the capital of Mughān, but in the time of Mustawfi was fallen to ruin and become a mere village. It is no longer found on the map, but its position is given in the Itinerary (Routes xx and xxiii) as lying four leagues north of Barzand [1], which still exists, and which was a notable town as early as the days of the Caliph Mu'tuṣim, son of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. Pilvār [2] or Piluvār (not marked on any map) stood on the stream coming from Bajārvān, and was eight leagues distant from the latter town. It is said to have been named after an Amīr of the Buyids. Maḥmūdābād [3] in the plain of Gāvbārī, near the Caspian, according to the Itinerary (Route xxi) was twelve leagues beyond Pilvār. Hamshahrah lay two leagues distant from the sea-shore ; it

was also called Bū-Shahrah or Abar-Shahr, according to the *Jihān Numā* (p. 393), but it is impossible now to fix exactly the position of any of these places, which appear to have completely disappeared from the modern maps.

The territory of Arrān, which the Arab geographers always spell Al-Rān (pronounced Ar-Rān), as though it were an Arabic name, is the triangle of land included between the rivers Aras and Kur—the Araxes and Cyrus. The Aras is described (L. 213b) as rising in the Kālikalā mountains near Arzan-ar-Rūm (now Erzerum), whence it flows through Armenia and along the southern border of Arrān to its junction with the Kur, having been previously joined from the south, or right bank, by the Kāra Sū, the name, apparently, of the lower course of united streams which flow down from Ardabil and Ahar described in Chapter 3. The river Kur (L. 215y) also rose in the Kālikalā mountains, and passing through Gurjistān came to the city of Tiflīs. Below this town it formed the northern frontier of Arrān, and Hamd-Allah states that here a branch went off to the Lake of Shamkūr, though what sheet of water is thus indicated is not very clear. Thence the main stream of the Kur passed on down to its junction with the Aras, the combined streams flowing out to the Caspian after passing through the Gushtāsfī country.

The capital of Arrān was Baylakān, at the close of the fourteenth century A.D. frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd in his account of the conquests of Timur. During his siege the city was partially destroyed, but was rebuilt in 1403 A.D. by command of Timur, and a canal dug, six farsakhs long, bringing to it the waters of the Aras river (*Zafar Nāmah*, ii, 543, 545). Though apparently all traces of the town have disappeared, its approximate position is fixed by the Arab Itineraries of Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 122), Kudāmah (p. 213), and Ibn Hawkal (p. 251). According to these Baylakān lay fourteen leagues south of Bardbā'ah, and seven or nine leagues north of the Aras bank, on the road coming up from Barzand. In Armenian it was known as Phaidagaran (Saint Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*,

i, 154). Bardhā'ah [4], a town that still exists, the name being more often written Barda', stood on the river Tartur, a right bank affluent of the Kur; and Ganjah to the north-west is now more generally known as Elizabetpol, its Russian name. Sirak, or Hīrak, was the name of the summer pastures above Barda', but it is not now found marked on our maps, and in the *Jihān Nūmā* (p. 392) the name is printed Tark.

Chapter 5. Shīrvān.

Contents: Bākūyah, 159^s and 161^a; Shamākhī, 161^a; Kabalah, 161^c; Firuzābād or Flūz̄kubād, 161^d; the Gushtāsfī District, 161^e.

The province of Shīrvān lay to the north of the Kur river, and extended to the foot of that part of the Caucasus range known to Moslem geographers as Darband-i-Bāb-al-Abwāb—‘the Barrier of the Gate of Gates.’ Bākūyah, or Bākū, was its port on the Caspian, and Shamākhī inland—now called Shemūkhā—was the capital city, famous, as Mustawfi relates, from the legendary Rock of Moses and the Fountain of Life, both of which were said to have existed here. Kabalah stood near the mountains; its position is unknown, but from its mention by ‘Alī of Yazd (i, 406) when describing the campaigns of Timur in Georgia, it must have stood very near the river Kur, and the Kabalah mountain is also mentioned by Mustawfi (L. 206^d). Firuzābād, or Flūz̄-kūbād, both names being given by Yākūt (iii, 928, 929), was a town standing in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, though its position cannot be more exactly fixed. The Gushtāsfī province, said to have been so named after Gushtāsf, one of the ancient Persian kings, formed part of Shīrvān, and lay along the shore of the Caspian above the mouth of the Aras river.

Chapter 6. Gurjistān and Abkhās.

Contents: Alān, 161*k*; Ānī, 161*m*; Tiflīs, 161*n*; Khunān, 161*p*; Karş, 161*p*.

In the district of Abkhasia Alān is given by Mustawfi as the name of a town lying under the Alburz Mountains on an affluent of the Kur. Ānī was the ancient capital of Georgia, the ruins of which still remain; but Tiflīs had become the chief city of the province already in the time of Ḥamd-Allah. Khunān (reading uncertain, Janān, Khabān, and ḥabān, all being given in the MSS.) was the name of a castle on the Arrān frontier. According to Mukaddasī (p. 382) and other Arab geographers this town lay half-way between Shamkūr and Tiflīs, being three marches from either place. Karş, to the south-west of Tiflīs, was already a town with a strong fortress when Ḥamd-Allah wrote.

Chapter 7. Rūm.

Contents: Sīvās, 161*y*; Abulustān and Anḳurah, 162*a*; Arzanjān, 162*b*; Arzan-ar-Rūm, 162*s*; Arāk, 162*j*; Aksīk, 162*l*; Āk Sarāy, 162*l*; Āk Shahr, 162*n*; Amāsiyah, 162*o*; Antākiyah and Awnīk, 162*q*; Bāburt, 162*s*; Zūfurlū and Zūbarkī, 162*t*; Dhūlū, 162*u*; Kharbirt, 162*v*; Shahrah, 162*w*; Samsūn, 162*w*; Shimshāt, 162*x*; 'Amūrīyah, 162*z*; Kālīkalā, 163*b*; Karā Ḫiṣār, 163*e*; Kaṣṭamūniyah, 163*g*; Kūmanāt, 163*h*; Kūniyah, 163*j*; Kayṣariyah, 163*s*; Kāt, 163*v*; Kamākh, 163*w*; Gūl, Kīr, and Baḳīj, 163*x*; Lūlūah, 163*y*; Maṭapiyah, 163*z*; Nigdah and Niksār, 164*e*; Hūshyār, 164*d*; Yalḳān Bāzār, 164*f*; Zamandū, 164*g*; Kīrshahr, 164*h*; Kadūk and Tamaraghāch, 164*j*; Ziyārat Bāzār, 164*k*; Agrūlūr and Kawāk, 164*l*; Kūsh Ḫiṣār and Sivrī Ḫiṣār, 164*m*; Kūlūniyah, Gustakī, and Malanḳūbiyah, 164*n*.

The kingdom of Rūm, Asia Minor, was at the time when Mustawfi wrote divided among the dynasties of the Ten Amīrs, who had succeeded to the inheritance of the Saljuks

in these parts, and their history has been fully discussed by Professor Lane-Poole in the pages of this Journal (1882, p. 773). Unfortunately, the Arab geographers afford us but little information about Asia Minor, which, during the earlier centuries of the Abbasids, had of course formed part of the Byzantine empire, and which only came within the boundaries of Islām when occupied (470 A.D.) by the Saljūks of Rūm in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D. The next two centuries (the sixth and seventh of the Hijrah) were the period of magnificence for these Saljūks in Asia Minor, after which their power rapidly waned before the rising glory of the Ottoman Turks, whose Sultan, 'Orkhān, in the early part of the fourteenth century A.D. had established his capital at Brusa, had organized the famous corps of the Janisaries, and, after taking Nicomedia in 1327 and Nicæa in 1330, was threatening the Hellespont.

This was the state of affairs when Mustawfi wrote, and which is described by his contemporary Ibn Baṭūṭah, who travelled over the length and the breadth of Asia Minor during the year 733 (1333 A.D.). The description of Asia Minor given by Mustawfi, however, evidently dates from an earlier period, and gives an account of the country as it was under the Saljūks; he knows nothing of the later conquests of the Turks, and the most western town, apparently, that he mentions is Gūl Iḥiṣār, 120 miles south-west of Antakiyah. More than one-half of the places mentioned in this chapter of the *Nuzhat* can easily be identified on the modern map; but unfortunately, among some fifty place-names, I am unable to fix either the position or the true reading for nearly a score of towns, and neither Ibn Baṭūṭah nor Hājjī Khalfah are of much aid in the matter.

The *Jihān Numā* of the latter author quotes little of the *Nuzhat* in the chapters devoted to Asia Minor, and the *Jihān Numā* describes the country as it existed in the days when Hājjī Khalfah wrote, namely, at the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D., when all Asia Minor had for nearly three centuries formed an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. Further, the information which Mustawfi gives

about the towns that he names is very meagre, and the alphabetical order, in which for the most part these names are arranged, unfortunately fails to give the clue which we should have were the towns mentioned according to the various districts, or province by province.

The chief city of the Kingdom of Rūm was Sīvās (Sebasteia), which had been rebuilt by 'Alā-ad-Dīn Kay-Kubād the Saljūk. Its wool was famous and was largely exported. Abulustān is now known as Al-Bustān, and is the mediæval Arabissus. Anķurah (written with the dotted *k* and short vowel) is Angora; but the name, as Yākūt (i, 390) states, is more generally written Angūriyah (with *g* or *k*, and long vowels), under which form it frequently occurs in the *Z̄afar Nāmah* of 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 417 and elsewhere). Arzanjān on the upper Euphrates and Arzan-ar-Rūm (Erzerum) need no comment, being well known. Arāk also lay near the Euphrates, but it is not apparently marked on the map; neither is Aksik to be found, but the readings in both cases are doubtful. Āk Sarāy—'White Palace'—is some distance to the south-west of the Tahta Lake; it was built by 'Izz-ad-Dīn Kılıç-Arslān the Saljūk in 566 (1171 A.D.).

There were two places called Āk Shahr—'White Town'—one lying seven leagues north-west of Arzanjān; the other a town three marches to the north-west of Kūniyah, and both are marked on our maps. Amāsiyah (Amaseia on the Halys) and Antakiyah (Antiocheia) still exist. Awnik or Avanik is given by Yākūt (i, 408), and 'Alī of Yazd (i, 691) mentions it as having been stormed and captured by Timur; it being a castle in the mountains eight leagues distant from Arzan-ar-Rūm. Mustawfi adds that the town at the foot of the castle was called Abaskhūr; and according to Saint Martin (*Mémoire*, i, 109) Avanik is the place now called in Turkish Javān Kal'ah, which lies to the north of the Aras between Hasan Kal'ah on the west and Majankird on the east. Bābirt lies to the north of Arzanjān, but I am unable to identify Zūfarlū, Zūbarkī, Dhūlū (or Zūlū), and Shahrah, which last is reported to have

stood on the coast of the Black Sea; the spelling, however, of the first three names is very doubtful, and apparently none of them occur in the pages of the *Jihān Nūmā*, or in any of the earlier geographers. Kharbirt, or Kharput, is near the junction of the eastern Euphrates or river Arsanūs, on which stream, but higher up, lay Shimshāt (see I.S. 57). Samsūn was already a celebrated port for shipping on the Black Sea; 'Amūriyah (Amorium) still exists (Mustawfi, apparently by some error, states that the name was then pronounced Ankūriyah, which, as already noted, is Angora). Kālīkālā was a city in the country of this name, near the Armenian frontier (see I.S. 64), which has generally been identified with the Byzantine city of Theodosiopolis on the upper Euphrates, otherwise called Karin.

Karā Ḥiṣār—'Black Fort'—was the name of diverse castles, four of which were especially celebrated. One (apparently not marked in our maps) was on the mountains near Kayşariyah; another was of the district of Kūniyah (probably the Karā Ḥiṣār lying south-west of 'Amūriyah); a third castle of this name stood near Nikdah, while the fourth Karā Ḥiṣār is that lying a short distance north-east of Āk Shahr and belonging to the Arzanjān district. Kastamūniyah lies some distance west from Samsūn; and Kūmanāt is one of the many towns called Comana by the Greeks. Kūniyah is the older Iconium; here the castle had been built by Sulṭān Kılıç Arslān of cut stone, and in like material great city walls were erected by 'Alā-ad-Dīn Kay-Kubād the Saljūk; Kūniyah further was celebrated for the tomb of the Sūfī saint and poet Jalāl-ad-Dīn Rūmī.

Kayşariyah (Caesarea Mazaka) still exists, but Kāt (or Kāb) is apparently not to be found on our maps. Kamākh (or Kamkh) on the Euphrates is well known (I.S. 48), and Gūl is probably Gūl Ḥiṣār to the south-west of Anṭākiyah, which was visited by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 269), but the double town called Kīr and Bakīj I am unable to identify. Lūlūah is in the Cilician passes north-west of Tarsus, and Nikdah (or Nigdah) lies to the north of it. Malatīyah is Melitene near

the Euphrates (I.S. 48), and Niksār stands a short distance south-east of Samsūn and Amāsiyah.

Hūshyār (which is not mentioned in the *Jihān Numā*) is said to have been the Castle of Karamān, better known as Larandah, the capital of the Karamān province on the borders of Little Armenia. Yalkān Bāzār (not marked on our maps) was a town between Kūniyah and Āk Shahr, celebrated for its hot springs; and Kīr-Shahr, frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 418 and elsewhere), stands half-way between Ankūrah and Kaysariyah. Zamandū, Kadūk (or Kadūl), and Tamar Aghāch (or Tūr Aghach) I am unable to identify, and the names do not occur in the *Jihān Numā*. Ziyārat Bāzār is possibly the town of Ziyārat to the south of Kharpūt. Agrīdūr is the town at the southern end of the lake of this name; it is mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 266), also by 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 485). Kavāk probably is the place of this name lying a short distance to the west of Sivās. Sivri Hisār is the well-known city, north of 'Amūriyah, to which, according to 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 448), Timur marched in six stages from Angora. Neither Kulūniyah (Colonia) nor Kastakī occurs in the *Jihān Numā*, nor is either apparently to be found on the map, for both are said by Mustawfi to lie on the shore of the Black Sea.¹ Kūsh Hisār, however, exists, standing to the south of Kastamūniyah, and Malankūbiyah, which is referred to by Yākūt (iv, 635), lies east of Kūniyah, and is the ancient Malacepeia.

¹ Kulāniyah of the Arab geographers is generally identified with Colonia, founded by Pompey as described by Procopius, which the Armenians call Aghovendzor, or Goghonia, and which lies about 60 miles north-west of Kamkē. See Saint Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, i, 189.

Chapter 8. Armenia.

Contents: Akhlāt, 164*t*; Abṭūt (or Abtūk) and Arjish, 164*v*; Armūk, 164*x*; Alāṭāk, 164*y*; Bürkīrī, 164*z*; Bayān, 165*b*; Kharādīn, 165*e*; Khūshāb, Jaramrast, and Lūkiyāmāt, 165*d*; Hangāmābād, 165*e*; Salam and 'Ayn, 165*f*; Kabūd and Malāzgird, 165*g*; Vān and Vastūn, 165*j*; Valāshgird, 165*m*.

The Arab geographers unfortunately afford us but meagre accounts of Armenia, and though 'Alī of Yazd in his description of the campaigns of Timur enables us to identify some of the outstanding names, Hājjī Khalfah in the *Jihān Nūmā* proves of little service. Hence, out of the list, as given above, it has been only possible to identify a third of the places named.

Hamd-Allah remarks that this country is divided into Greater and Lesser Armenia; but that with Lesser Armenia (otherwise Cilicia), of which the capital was Sīs, he does not deal in detail, for this formed no part of Īrān. The great lake which is the central feature of the country, now called Lake Vān, Hamd-Allah describes (L. 226*j*) under the name of the Arjish or Akhlāt Lake, from what were then the two chief towns on its borders. It was celebrated for the fish called *Tirrikh*, with which its waters, that were salt, abounded. Our author also speaks of the modern Gūkchah Lake under the name of Buhayrah Gūkchah Tangīz, meaning in Turkish 'the Blue Lake' (L. 226*k*). It lay on the Adharbayjān frontier of Armenia, and its waters were sweet and good for drinking; the Gūkchah Tangīz is also frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (*Zafar Nāmah*, i, 414, 415; ii, 378).

The town of Akhlāt, at the north-west corner of the Vān Lake, was then the capital of Armenia and produced revenue to the amount of 50,500 dīnārs (about £12,500), and above Akhlāt to the eastward rose the great mountain of Kūh Sibān, now called Sipān Dāgh (L. 205*l*). Neither Abṭūt, 'a fine town,' nor Armūk is apparently marked on the map; but Arjish is still found at the north-west end of the lake. Alāṭāk

is described as a good pasture-ground, where Arghūn Khān had built himself a Saray or palace for his summer quarters; it is the mountainous region now known as Ala Dāgh to the north and north-east of the lake, and is frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (I.S. 417, 421, 685); further, Timur kept his standing camp here during the Georgian campaigns. In the neighbourhood is the town of Band-Māhī (Fish Dam), one stage to the eastward of Arjīsh (see Route xxv) on the Arjīsh bay of Lake Vān. Khūshūb lies at some distance to the south-east of the Vān Lake.

The places named Bayān (or Nabār), Kharādīn (Kharāvīn or Jazāvīn), Jarimarast (Jarvarīb or Harsarbat), Lükīyāmāt (Tūmānāt), Hangāmābād, Salam (Shalam), 'Ayn, and Kabūd, are none of them to be found in Yākūt, though many of these names are copied into the *Jihān Nūmā* (p. 418) without comment; they have apparently also disappeared from the map, and the readings are in most cases uncertain. Malāzjird lies on the upper course of the western Euphrates, due north of Lake Vān: the city of Vān itself is near the eastern end of the lake, and Vastān lies on its southern shore. The exact position of Valāshgird is doubtful; but Yākūt (iv, 939) mentions a town of this name as situated near Akhlāt, though none is now shown on the map.

Chapter 9. Jazīrah or Upper Mesopotamia.

Contents: Mosul, 165^p; Iribil, 165^s; Arzan and Āmid, 165^t; Bāṣaydah and Bāṭarnūḥ, 165^v; Barṭallā, 165^w; Jasūr, 165^x; Bawāzīj and Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar, 165^y; Ḥānī and Sīwān, 165^z; Ḥarrān, 166^a; Ḥiṣn Kayfū and Khābūr, 166^s; Rās-al-'Ayn, 166^f; Rakķah, 166^g; Ruhā and Sa'īrd, 166^o; Sanjar, 166^p; Sūk-ath-Thamānīn, 166^t; 'Akār, 166^u; 'Imādīyah, 166^w; Karķīsīyā, 166^x; Karmalīs and Mardin, 166^y; Mūsh, 167^o; Mayāfārikayn, 167^e; Naṣībīn, 167^f; Nīnavī, 167^l.

The upper part of Mesopotamia is known either as Jazīrah, 'the Island,' or else as Diyār-Bakr and Diyār-Rabi'ah,

meaning the Lands of Bakr and Rabi'ah, the two Arab tribes which had settled in these parts before the Moslem conquest. Diyār-Rabi'ah is the south-eastern half of the province, with Mosul for capital; Diyār-Bakr being the north-western part, with Āmid for its chief town. Mosul on the Tigris was the largest city of the Jazīrah province; but Irbil (Arbela), to the eastward, standing half-way between the banks of the two Zābs, was a place of great importance. The Upper or Greater Zāb rose in the mountains of Armenia and flowed down to join the Tigris at Hadīthah¹; while the Lower or Lesser Zāb, called also Majnūn, 'the mad river,' because of its swift current, rising also in Armenia joined the Tigris at the hill of Sinn (L. 214*j*). In many of the MSS.² Arzan or Arzanah is next described, an important town standing on a left bank affluent of the Tigris, and its ruins still exist.

Āmid is the chief place of Diyār-Bakr (and the town is often called by the name of the province); it stands on the Tigris to the westward and higher up than the inflow of the Arzan river. The towns of Bāṣaydah and Bāṭarnūh I am unable to identify³ (the latter name being variously given in the MSS. as Bāzarnūkh, Bāṭahbūj, etc.), but from its position in the alphabetical order, the first syllable is apparently Bā—the Syriac form of *Bayt* or *Beth*—so common in the place-names of this region. Barṭallā is mentioned by Yākūt (i, 567), and still exists about sixteen miles to the eastward of Mosul, but it is difficult to identify the town called Jār or Jasār, and the reading is probably corrupt. Bawāzij, though it has disappeared from the map, is mentioned by Yākūt (i, 750), and from his account we learn that it stood near the mouth of the Lower

¹ Not to be confounded with Hadīthah on the Euphrates, mentioned in Chapter 1.

² British Museum MSS., Add. 7,708, 16,737, and 23,543. Not to be confounded with Arzan-ar-Rūm, otherwise Erzerum. In the *Zafar Nāma* (i, 665) the name is spelt Arzin.

³ Unless for Bāṣaydah we read Bāṣabdā, which might be merely another way of spelling Bāzabdā (as the name is given by Yākūt, i, 466), the well-known town on the eastern bank of the Tigris opposite Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar, which had been the Roman fortress of Bezabdu.

Zāb, and not far from the hill of Sinn. Jazīrah Ibn ‘Omar is a town on an island in the Tigris above Mosul (see I.S. 34), and Hānī, to the north of Āmid, according to Yākūt (ii, 188), was celebrated for its iron-mine. What place Sitwān or Sīwān represents is not clear, but the reading is not improbably corrupt.

Harrān, with its castle of cut stone, founded, it was said, by Arphaxad, son of Shem, lay near the sources of the river Balikh, which joined the Euphrates at Rakkañ (L. 219/). Hisn Kayfā is an important fortress on the Tigris, lying due south of Arzan (I.S. 264). Khābūr is the name of some town on the Khābūr river, on which stood Rās-al-‘Ayn, and the Khābūr river, after taking up the Hirmās, joined the Euphrates at Karkisiyā, or Circesium. Rakkañ, the ancient Callinicus, stands on the Euphrates, above the junction of the Balikh river (I.S. 50), near the famous battlefield of Siffin. Ruhā, or Edessa, is described in many of the MSS.¹ and some details are given of its wonderful churches. Sā’ird (south of Bitlis) was famous for its manufacture of copper pots and cups. Sinjar stood on the mountain side overlooking the Tharthūr river, this last being a branch stream from the Hirmās river, which, flowing eastward, joined the Tigris at Takfit (L. 219c).

Sūk Thamānīn—'Market of the Eighty'—records the settlement of that number of the companions of Noah when, according to Moslem tradition, the Ark came to rest on Jabal Jūdī. This Sūk Thamānīn is not found on the maps, but Mount Jūdī is known, and in his Itinerary Mukaddasī (p. 149) reports that this town lay one march distant (west) of Jazīrah Ibn ‘Omar, and Abu-l-Fidā (p. 275) says that Thamānīn lay to the north of ‘Imādīyah. ‘Akr, signifying 'a castle,' constantly recurs in place-names; the castle here intended is doubtless ‘Akīr-al-Humaydīyah, mentioned also by Yākūt (iii, 696), which is marked on the map some thirty miles to the south-east of ‘Imādīyah. This last, a town of considerable size, is said by Mustawfi to have

¹ Those cited above, and others.

taken its name from 'Imād-ad-Dawlah the Buyid (brother of Mu'izz-ad-Dawlah), who died in 338 (A.D. 949). According to Ibn-al-Athir (xi, 60), however, 'Imādiyah had its name from 'Imād-ad-Dīn Zangi, Lord of Mosul, who had founded the town in 537 (A.D. 1142). Not far from 'Imādiyah is Karmalīs, of the Mosul district, also mentioned by Yākūt (iv, 267), which will be found to the south of Barṭallā. Karkisīyā stands on the Euphrates at the junction of the Khābūr (L. 51). Mardīn was famous for its castle, and the Sūr river which irrigated its gardens flowed thence northward to join the Tigris (L. 219 ρ). Mūsh stands near the upper waters of the Arsanas or eastern Euphrates, Mayāfarīkayn lying south-west of it, and on a left bank affluent of the Tigris. Nasībin or Nisibis, celebrated for its roses and venomous scorpions, is on the Hirmās river, which forms the chief affluent of the Khābūr (L. 219 m) ; lastly, Nineveh (Ninavī), opposite Mosul on the Tigris, was famous for the shrine shown here of the prophet Yūnus or Jonah.

Chapter 10. Kurdistān.

Contents: Alāni, 167 q ; Alishtar and Bahār, 167 r ; Khuftiyān, 167 s ; Darband Tāj Khātūn and Darband Zangī, 167 t ; Darbil, 167 u ; Dīnavar, 167 v ; Sultānābūd Jamjamūl, 167 w ; Shahrazūr, 167 y ; Kirmānshāh, 168 a ; Kirind and Khūshān, 168 f ; Kangavar, 168 h ; Māyidasht, 168 k ; Harsīn, 168 l ; Vasīm, 168 m .

The description of Kurdistān given by Mustawfi (which Hājjī Khalfah has copied almost verbatim into his *Jihād Numā*) presents a number of small problems which I find myself unable satisfactorily to solve. Kurdistān, or the Land of the Kurds, is not mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers, and it appears to have been first erected into a separate government under the Saljūks, who, in the time of Sulaymān Shah, divided it off from the rest of the Jibāl Province, which they called Persian 'Irāk, as explained in Chapter 2. Sulaymān Shāh, under whose rule Kurdistān appears to have flourished greatly, surnamed Abū (or

Ayūb) was the nephew of Sultan Sinjar, who had appointed him governor of this province, and Sulaymān Shāh at a later date—that is, from 554 to 556 (1159 to 1161 A.D.)—became for a short time the Saljūk Sultan of the Two 'Irūks, and chief of his house.

Alānī (thus in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 450, though some MSS. read Alābī) was one of the chief towns of the province of Kurdistān, but no trace of it is to be discovered on the present maps, it is mentioned apparently by no other geographer, and is not marked in the Itinerary. At Alishtar (the next town named by Mustawfi) there was an ancient Fire-temple called Ardahish (or Arakhash), and Alishtar [1] would appear to have been some town in the well-known plain of this name, still so marked on our maps. This town is possibly that given in Ibn Hawkal (p. 259), and others, as lying ten farsakhs south-west of Nihāvand, being twelve leagues north of Sābūrkhwāst. The older geographers, however, spell the name Lāshtar, and the MSS. of the *Nuzhat* give every variety of reading for this name—such as Alisht, Al-Bashr (so in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 450), Alishur and Basht—so that the identification given above is more than doubtful; and in regard to the Fire-temple I am at a loss for any further references.¹

The town of Bahār [2], with its castle, which Hamd-Allah reports to have been the capital of Kurdistān in the days of Sulaymān Shāh, lies some eight miles to the north of Hamadān. Khuftiyān (given as Khunyān, Ḫukhān, Jufbān, and Khaysān, with diverse other readings in the MSS., the form Ḫakshiyān being printed in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 450) is difficult to identify; it was a fine castle, according to Hamd-Allah, that stood on the bank of the Zāb river (but

¹ On his march from Tustar to Shīrāz, Timur, according to 'Ali of Yazd (i, 600), after crossing the Āb-Shīrin, camped on the Plain of Lāshtar, and two days later coming to the river of the Sha'b Bāvvān valley, halted at Basht. Both places will be found on the modern map, and naturally suggest themselves as possible alternatives, one or other, for the town of Kurdistān mentioned by Hamd-Allah; but unfortunately both would appear to be out of the question, and too far south (being well within the boundary of Fārs) ever to have been counted as of Kurdistān. The *Jihān Numā*, as usual, merely copies the *Nuzhat* without comment.

whether Upper or Lower Zab is not stated), being surrounded by many villages.

The towns of Darband (Pass of) Tāj Khātūn and Darband Zangī, also, are neither of them marked on the map; Darband Tāshī Khātūn, however, is frequently referred to by 'Alī of Yazd (i, 585, 599, 640) in his account of the marches of Timur through Kurdistān. Dirbil, or Dizbil, 'a medium-sized town,' likewise is not found either on the map or in the works of the earlier Arab geographers; the spelling, however, is most uncertain, the MSS. giving Darsīl, Wazpal, etc., with some other variants.

Dīnavar, the ruins of which have been described by De Morgan (*Mission en Perse*, ii, 95, 96), was still, when Mustawfi wrote, a fine town, and produced excellent corn crops. The ruins of Jamjamāl [3] are marked on the maps as lying due east of Kirmānshāh and south of Bisūtūn [7], this position (for there are other villages of the same name) being confirmed by the distances given in the Itinerary (Route ii); and our author states that this place, called more especially Sultānābād Jamjamāl, was at one time the capital of Kurdistān, and that it was founded by Sultan Uljaytū the Mongol. The city of Shahrazūr [4] is to be identified with the ruins at Yāsīn Tappah, in the present plain of Shahrazūr. The town was known to the Persians as Nīm-Rāh—'Half-way'—that is, lying half-way between the ancient Fire-temple at Madāin and the Temple on the Adhurbayjān frontier at Saūrīk (already mentioned above in Chapter 2), which Sir H. Rawlinson has identified with Shīz of the Arab geographers (see J.R.G.S., x, 65).

Kirmānshāh, which the Arabs called Kirmīshīn, was celebrated for the sculptures in the neighbouring mountain of Bisūtūn. Kirind [5] and Kūshān were two villages at the head of the Hulwān pass; the name of Kūshān has now apparently disappeared from the maps, though Kirind remains; and this latter in the time of Mustawfi was the less important place of the two. Kanguvār, which the Arabs called Kaṣr-al-Lusūs—'Robbers' Castle'—according to our author had been built with stones taken from the ancient

site at Bisütün. Māyidasht, or Māhidash, is still the name of the great plain watered by the Kirind river; and Harsin [6], the name of a castle and town, lies some miles south-east of Kirmānshāh. Finally, Vastām [7], or Bastām, is apparently the hamlet near the present Tāk-i-Bustān, at the foot of the Bisütün hill, for it is described as a large village lying over against the great Achaemenian sculptures, which represent, according to the Persians, King Khusrū Parvīz and his horse Shabdīz, with Queen Shīrīz, and those Mustawfi carefully describes in his account of the Bisütün mountain (L. 203^f).

Chapter 11. Khūzistān.

Contents : Tustar, 168^p; Ahwāz, 169^c; Tarb, 169^e; Junday Shāpūr, 169^g; Hawīzah, 169^j; Dizfūl, 169^l; Daskorūh, 169^q; Rāmhurmuz, 169^r; Sūs, 169^t; Taruzak, 169^w; 'Askar Mukram, 169^x; Masrukān, 170^a.

Before noticing the towns in this province it will be well to summarize such information as is given by Ḥamad-Allah about the rivers which flow out to the Persian Gulf by separate mouths or through the tidal estuaries of the Shatt-al-'Arab. The chief stream of Khūzistān is the Kārūn, which Mustawfi and the older geographers call the Dujayl (or Little Tigris) of Tustar. This had its source in the Zardah Kūh—'the Yellow Mountains'—of Great Lur, where also the Zandah-rūd of Isfahān had its head-waters (L. 204^q, and see Chapter 2). The Dujayl river, after many windings, flowed down past Tustar to 'Askar Mukram and Ahwāz, where it was joined by the Dizfūl river, and their united streams poured into the broad estuary of the Shatt-al-'Arab (L. 214^e), which went out to the Persian Gulf. The Dizfūl river, which joined the Kārūn below 'Askar Mukram, was formed by the united streams of the Kuzkī river and the Āb-i-Kaw'ah (or Kar'ah), which last, flowing down from

Burūjird (see above, Chapter 2), was also named the Sīlākhūr (L. 215*u*). Further to the westward came the Karkhah, also called the river of Sūs; this rose in the Alvand mountains; it was soon joined by the river Kūlkū, also by the stream from Khurramābād, and thence flowing down past Sūs to the Hawīzah country came to the tidal estuary of the Kārūn, by which its waters, uniting with the overflow of the Tigris and Euphrates, finally reached the sea (L. 216*u*, also *Jihān Numā*, p. 286).

The boundary between Khūzistān and Fārs was formed by the river Tāb, which is the name that Mustawfi and all the Arab geographers give to the river called at present the Jarrāhī; the modern Tāb river (flowing past Hindiyān) being presumably the mediaval Āb-i-Shīrin, but there is some confusion in the present nomenclature. The Tāb river (of Mustawfi and the Arab geographers) rose in the Saram hills in Luristān, it was soon joined by the waters of the Āb-i-Masin which came down from the Sumayram mountains, and the united streams some distance below the point of junction were crossed by the great bridge of Rakān near Arrajān. After watering the Rīshahr districts the Tāb finally flowed out to the sea (L. 218*s, u*); and these places will all be more particularly mentioned in Chapter 12 on Fārs.

Khūzistān was coterminous on the north with Kurdistān, these two Provinces coming in between Arabian and Persian 'Irāk, though Ṣaymarah, counted as of the latter (see Chapter 2), must have been very near the frontier of 'Irāk 'Arabī. When Mustawfi wrote the capital of the Khūzistān Province was Tustar, already then commonly called Shustar, famous for the great weir across the Kārūn, which at the city gate divided the stream into three parts, called respectively the Canals of Dasht-Ābād, of Dū-Dānik, and of Chahār-Dānik (Two Sixths and Four Sixths). Ahwāz has already been noticed in my paper on Ibn Serapion (p. 311). The town of Turb (or Tūb according to some MSS.), on the sea-shore, I cannot identify, but apparently it occupied more or less the position of Bāsiyān, so frequently

mentioned by the earlier geographers. The ruins of Junday Shāpūr [1] exist at the village of Shāhābād, lying half-way between Dizfūl and Tustar; the town was famous for its sugar-canæs, as also was Hawīzah [2], lying to the east of the lower Kūrūn, which town, Mustawfi writes, was inhabited mainly by Sabæans. Dizfūl—'Bridge of the Diz river'—was anciently called Andāmish, from the name of the bridge of forty-two arches which here crossed the Diz river. This Bridge of Andāmish is mentioned by Ibn Hawkal (p. 259) and other earlier geographers whom Yākūt (i, 372) has quoted (see also Ibn Serapion, p. 312, and 'Ali of Yazd, i, 589); its remains still exist (De Bode, *Luristān*, ii, 163).

Daskarah (or Dastgīr) was on the Trāk border, according to Yākūt (ii, 575), and possessed a strong castle, but its exact position is difficult to fix. Rāmhurmuz [3], the name of which, says Mustawfi, was already corrupted to Rāmīz, lay near the frontier of Fārs; Sūs [4], 'the most ancient city of Khūzistān,' was famous for the tomb of the prophet Daniel, and its ruins stand near the Karkhah river some few miles south-south-west of Dizfūl (De Bode, ii, 186). For Sūs some of the MSS. give the spelling Sūsīn, but probably from the scribe having confused this Sūs with the town of a similar name in Luristān, already mentioned in Chapter 2. Tarāzak (or Tarārak, as given in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 284) cannot unfortunately be identified; it was famous for its excellent sugar-canæs. 'Askar Mukram [5], the ruins of which are at Band-i-Kīr (see I.S. 312), Mustawfi reports was also known by the Persian name of Lashkar or 'Camp'; and somewhere higher up on the Masrukān stream [6] was the town of this same name, the site of which has apparently disappeared from the modern maps.

Chapter 12. Fârs.

Contents: Shirâz, 170*a*; Coasts of Abu Zuhayr and of 'Umârah, 171*w*; Bûshkânât, 171*y*; Tawwaj, 171*z*; Khâbr, 172*a*; Khatîzân, 172*b*; Khunayfghân, 172*c*; Ramzavân, Dûdhîn, and Davân, 172*f*; Survistân and Kûbanjân, 172*g*; Sirûf, Najîram, and Khûrshî, 172*h*; Şimkân and Hirak, 172*k*; Firûzâbûd, 172*o*; Karzân, Kîr, and Abzar, 172*w*; Kâriyân and Karûn of Irâhistân, 172*y*; Kavâr, 173*b*; Lâghir and Kaharjân, 173*e*; Mandastân, 173*g*; Mirmand, 173*k*; Hûmû and Hamjân Kabrîn, 173*l*; Huzû and Tânah, 173*n*; Iştakhr and its three Castles, 173*o*; Abraj, 174*f*; Abarkûb, 174*g*; Farâghah, 174*m*; Isfandân and Kumistân, 174*o*; İklîd and Uzjân, 174*p*; Surmak, 174*q*; Buvvân and Marûst, 174*s*; Baydâ, 174*t*; Harîr, Abâdah, and Sabzivâr, 174*w*; Hafrak and Kâlî, 174*x*; Khurramah, 174*y*; Râmjird, 174*z*; Mâyin, 175*a* and *j*; Sâhih and Harât, 175*b*; Küçruh, Kumishah, and the Castle of Kûlinjân, 175*e*; Kâmfirûz, 175*g*; Kirbâl, 175*f*; Kamin and Kârin, 175*g*; Kallâr and Kûrad, 175*h*; Yazdi-khwâst, Dih Girdû, Shûristân, and Abâdah, 175*l*; Dih Mûrd and Râdhân, 175*m*; Jahram and Khûrshah Castle, 175*o*; Juvaym of Abu Ahmad and Samîrân Castle, 175*g*; Fasâ, Sha'kî Rûdbâr, and Mishânân, 175*s*; Nashâvar, 175*x*; Kâzirûn, 176*a*; Shâpûr City, 176*h*; Anbûrân and Bûsht Küjtâ, 176*o*; Bilâd Shâpûr, 176*q*; Tîr Murdân and Jûbkân, 176*r*; The Jîlüyah Mountains, 176*u*; Jirrah, 176*w*; Gumbadh Mallaghân and Pul-Bûlû, 176*y*; Khisht and Kumârij, 177*a*; Khullâr, 177*b*; Khuneayjân and Dih 'Ali, 177*e*; Salhât, 177*e*; Şârâm and Bâzrank, 177*f*; Ghundijân, 177*h*; Nawbandajân and Kal'ah Safid, 177*j*; Sha'b Buvvân, 177*n*; Kubâd Khurrah and Arrajân, 177*t*; Bustânak, 177*y*; Rishahr, 177*z*; Hindijân, Khabs, and Furzuk, 178*d*; Jannâbâ, 178*e*; Jallâdjân and Hayvûdîn, 178*f*; Mahrûbân, 178*g*; Sînîz, 178*l*. The Sixteen Castles of Fârs, namely: Kal'ah Isfandiyâr, or Isfid Diz, 178*p*; the Castles of Iştakhr (Persepolis), 178*u*; the Castle of Iştakhr Vâr, 179*a*; Abâdah, 179*b*; Diz Abraj or Iraj, 179*c*; Tîz or Tabar, 179*d*; Tîr-i-Khudâ, 179*g*; Khûrshah, 179*h*; Khurramah, 179*l*; Khuwâdân, 179*m*; Khuvâr and Ramzavân, 179*n*; Sahârah, 179*o*; Samîrân, 179*p*; Kârzân, 179*q*; and Gunbad-Mallaghân, 179*r*. The Pasture-lands called Marghzâr,

namely: Āvard or Ūrd, 179*u*; Dasht Rūn, 179*w*; Dasht Arzan, 179*z*; Sīkān, 180*b*; Bahz or Bahmān, 180*c*; Bid Mashkān, 180*d*; Baydān and Shīlān, 180*e*; Kālī, 180*b*; Kālān, 180*k*; Kāmfirūz, 180*m*; Kamān, 180*n*; and Narkis, 180*o*. The Islands of the Persian Gulf, namely, Kays, 180*r*; Abrūn, 181*d*; Abarkumān, 181*s*; and Khārik, 181*f*.

In the time of the Il-Khān dynasty Fārs had come to be a much smaller province than it had been during the Caliphate, and as described by the Arab geographers. In the pages of Ḥamd-Allah Fārs has lost the whole of the Yazd district on the north-east, this under the Mongols being given to Persian 'Irūk; while the eastern districts round Dārābjird, having taken the name of Shabānkārah, had been formed into a separate province, which under this title will be noticed in the following chapter. A long and interesting account is given by Ḥamd-Allah of Shirāz, the capital of the Fārs province since the Moslem conquest; the nine gates in its walls are enumerated, and its various mosques and shrines are described in some detail. Ḥamd-Allah notes further that the territory immediately adjacent to the city was called its Hūmah (often written Jūmah or Jawmah), a word that may be translated 'domain.' Two leagues distant from Shirāz was the mountain called Kūh-i-Dārak, on which the winter snow was stored in pits for use in the hot weather (L. 203*y*); while three farsakhs to the south of Shirāz was a castle known as Kal'ah-i-Tiz (other readings in the MSS. give Bir, Tabr, Tir, Tashīr, etc.), which crowned a solitary hill, on the summit of which was a spring of water (L. 179*d*). Also in the Shirāz district was the Castle of Khuvār (L. 179*n*), and this place is mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 104) as a small town of the Ardashīr Khurrah district. Yākūt (i, 199; ii, 480), who copies the account, adds no particulars, and evidently cannot give more exactly the position. Shirāz has no river, but its waters drain eastward to the salt lake of Māhalīyah (L. 226*c*), which is some twelve leagues in circuit, and lies in the plain a few miles from the city on the left hand of the road to Sarvistān.

The shores of the lake were used for salt-pans, and much salt was exported from Shīrāz to outlying places.

The sea-coast districts of Fārs, known as the A'māl-i-Sif, were divided between the Sif—'Coast'—of the Bani Zuhayr and the Sif of 'Umārah. The positions of these districts are given by Iṣṭakhri (pp. 140, 141) and by Yūkūt (iii, 217), the former region lying near Sirāf and the latter near the Kirmān border, over against the Island of Kays. The Būshkānāt district, according to the *Fārs Nāmah* (f. 86a), lay twelve leagues from Ghundijān towards Najīram. Tavvaj, often spelt Tawwaz [1], had been a celebrated commercial town in early days, but when Mustawfi wrote it was already in ruins. Apparently no traces of it now exist; it stood, however, near the lower course of the Shāpūr river, called the Tawwaj-Āb, and according to Iṣṭakhri (pp. 128, 133) lay about half-way between Kāzirūn and Jannābah [40].

Khabr [2], somewhat over fifty miles south-east of Shīrāz, exists, and was famous for its castle, called Kal'ah Tir-i-Khudā—'God's Arrow' (L. 179g). The region of Khatīzin (which some MSS. give as Khayriz or Khatūhar) I am not able to identify; the districts of Ramzavān and Dādhīn lay south of Jirrah. Davān plain, according to the *Fārs Nāmah* (f. 73b), lay six leagues north of Māyīn [17]. Khunayfghān [3], which was commonly called Khanāfgān, was to the north of Firūzābād at the sources of the Burāzah river. Sarvistān is near the eastern end of the Māhalūyah Lake; but Kūhjān (or Kūbanjān in the *Fārs Nāmah*) has apparently disappeared from the map. Of Sirāf, the celebrated port on the Persian Gulf, the ruins still exist, and have been described by Captain Stiffe (J.R.G.S., 1895, p. 166), and according to Iṣṭakhri (p. 34) Najīram lay to the northward of it, Khūrshī (or Khūrāshī) being of its dependencies.

Simkān [4] lies to the east of Firūzābād (cf. Stack, *Six Months in Persia*, ii, 232), and Hirak was a large village near by. Of Firūzābād, anciently called Jūr, the chief town of the district of the same name, Hamd-Allah gives a long account, mentioning also its castle (L. 179o), called Kal'ah Shahārah, which crowned a height four leagues

from the city. The Firūzābād river was called the Āb-i-Burāzah¹ (L. 219g), a right bank affluent of the Āb-i-Zakān (L. 214z), which last is by far the most important stream in this part of Persia. The Zakān (or Zhakān; the MS. of the *Fars Nāmah* always spells the name *Thakān*) is named by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 120) and other Arab geographers the Nahr Sakkān, and is the present Kārā Aghāch, which rises at some distance to the north-west of Shīrāz. It flows into the sea a little to the south of Najīram, and in its lower course is now known as the Mand river. The town of Kavār [5] is near its left bank (half-way between Shīrāz and Khabr already mentioned), and after passing Şimkān, not far from its right bank are the towns of Kir, Kārzīn [6], and Abzar. Kāriyān [7] lies at some distance to the eastward of these places, and Lāghir [8] is mentioned by Mr. Stack (ii, 233), also by Mustawfi in his Itineraries (Route xxviii).

Kārzīn had a celebrated castle (L. 179g) on a hill over-hanging the river bank. Kaharjān or Makarjān apparently lay near Lāghir, and about half-way between this last and Sīrāf, on the coast, was the town of Kūrān [9] in the Irāhistān District, lying adjacent to the Zuhayr coast, mentioned in a previous paragraph and described by Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 106, 141, 454). The region of Māndistān was on the coast, and probably the name is connected with the present Mand river, as the lower part of the Kārā Aghāch (Āb-i-Zakān) is called. Mīmand [10] is the chief town of the Nāband district on the coast, to the east of Sīrāf, as mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 104), but I am unable to identify Hūmū or Hamjān Kabrīn; many MSS. give Harmūd and Hamjān Kirtan, and the readings are more than doubtful. The port of Huzū was opposite the Island of Kays; this is the last stage in the Itinerary (Route xxviii) from Shīrāz to the coast; and Tānah (or Tābah) was a village near.

¹ This is the spelling of the *Fars Nāmah* (l. 79g), who says it was so named after the great engineer Hakim Burāzah of the days of King Ardashir. The MSS. generally give the name as Barārah.

The city [11] of Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis) had been the capital of Fārs before the Moslem conquest. It lay on the banks of the Parvāb or Pulvār river (L. 218^r), a left bank affluent of the Kur. In the neighbourhood of Persepolis was a cave in the mountain called Kūh-i-Nīsh (or Na'isht), where there were famous sculptures (L. 206^v). Iṣṭakhr was celebrated for its three great castles, called the Sih-Gumbadhān—‘Three Domes’—which crown the hill-tops to the north of the Marvdasht plain. Those were known as the Kal'ah Iṣṭakhr, the Kal'ah Shiknsthā—‘the Broken Castle’—and the Kal'ah Shankavān (L. 178^u). Further, there was the Kal'ah Iṣṭakhr Yār, or Bār, probably on the hill above Persepolis (L. 179^a), where ruins still exist. The remains of the three castles on the hill-tops to the westward, which were famous for their great cisterns, have some of them been visited and described by Morier (*Second Journey in Persia*, pp. 83, 86) and De Bode (*Luristān*, i, 117). Abraj, as the name is spelt in the *Fārs Nāmah*, often incorrectly written Īraj, appears from Iṣṭakhrī (p. 102) to have been near Māyīn [17], and it stood at the base of a hill, on which was a strong castle called Diz Abraj or Īraj (L. 179^c). Abarķūh¹ is the well-known town on the frontier of Fārs [12] towards Yazd; and near it was Farāghah (written Marāghah in some MSS., also in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 266), which was celebrated for its cypresses. Uzjān, or Ujān, lies north of Māyīn. Not, however, to be found on the map are Isfandān (or Isfidān) and Kumistān (or Kuhistān), these being all copied into the *Jihān Numā* (p. 266), and near Kumistān in

¹ According to Hamd-Allah (L. 174^g) Abarķūh was remarkable for the fact that no Jew could survive for more than forty days who settled here. Hence these people were not found among the population of the town. Further in Abarķūh stood the tomb of the celebrated saint surnamed Tāus-al-Haramayn—‘Peacock of the Two Sanctuaries,’ viz. Mecca and Medina—and it was a known fact that his shrine would never suffer itself to be covered by a roof. However often a roof was erected over the tomb, it was invariably destroyed by a supernatural power, lest the saint's bones should become the object of an idolatrous worship. The same phenomenon is said by Ibn Baṭāṭah (ii, 113) to be characteristic of the shrine of Ibn Hanbal at Baghdad; and Professor Goldziher has some interesting remarks on this subject in his *Muhammedanische Studien* (i, 257).

the mountain there was a mighty cave. İklid [13] and Surmak [14] lie to the south-west of Abarkūh. Bavvān (with variants Tavān or Tūmān) and Marüst (possibly Marvdasht) were two villages in the great Persepolis plain, which itself bore the latter name; in the upper, western, part of the Marvdasht plain lay the city of Baydā [15], celebrated for its pasture-lands.

The town of Abādah stood on the northern side of Lake Bakhtigān, and there was a celebrated castle here (L. 179b). This town is frequently mentioned by İştakhrī (p. 131) and other Arab geographers; it was also known as the village of 'Abd-ar-Rahmān. Hafrak is the district near the junction of the Pulvār river with the Kur, and Harīr was near Lake Bakhtigān. Sabzivār and Kālī (or Fālī) appear to have been famous meadow-lands or Marghzār near the Pulvār river (L. 180^a). Kharramah [16], also celebrated for its castle (L. 179b), is a town to the east of Shirāz near the Bakhtigān Lake at the place where the rīvor Kur flows in. Rāmjird is the district higher up the river Kur—above the plain of Marvdasht—and Müyin [17] is the capital town of Rāmjird.

These districts were all watered by the Kur, of which Mustawfi gives a long account (L. 216^a). This river rose above Kallār [22], was joined on its right bank by a stream from Sha'b Bavvān, and lower down on the left bank near Persepolis by the Āb-i-Parvāb or Pulvār river (L. 218^r). In its lower reaches the Kur river was crossed by a number of weirs, each serving to raise a head of water for irrigation purposes. The first dam or weir was that called the Band-i-Mujarrad, an ancient foundation, which was repaired under the Saljuks by their Atabeg, or Governor, in Fārs, the celebrated Fakhr-ad-Dawlah Chāūlī (spelt Jāūlī by Ibn-al-Athir, x, 202), who then gave it the name of Fakhristān. Below this was the 'Adūdī or Band-i-Amir (*Bendemir* of the poet Moore, in *Lalla Rookh*), built by 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, and marked in the Itineraries (Route xxxii); this served to raise the waters for irrigating the two districts of Upper and Lower Kirbāl. The lowest of the dams was the

Fuller's Weir—Band-i-Kassār—at no great distance above the point where the Kur flowed out to the Lake of Bakhtigān. This was the largest of the salt lakes of Fārs, and when Mustawfi wrote was surrounded by populous districts and towns, among which occur the names of Ḥarīr, Abādah, Khayrah, Nayriz, and Sāhik (L. 225y). The north-western part of the lake was known as the Bulhayrah Bāsaflūyah (L. 226r), and it was celebrated for its fish. Sāhik (or Ghāhik) and Ḫarāt [19] lay at some distance from the eastern borders of the Bakhtigān Lake, and Kuṭruh [20] is to the south-east.

The most northern town of Fārs towards Isfahān is Kūmishah, protected by the Castle of Kūlanjān. The district of Kām Firūz lay on the banks of the Kur river (south of Rāmjird), being celebrated for its lion-haunted forests; and the two districts of Kirbūl, as already said, were on the lower reaches of the same river near the Fuller's Weir (Band-i-Kassār). Kāmīn [21] lies north of Iṣṭakhr, near the Pulvār river, and Kārin was a town near it. Kallār and Kūrad [22] were on the upper waters of the Kur river, and their positions are fixed by Mukaddusī (p. 458) in his Itinerary, being five farsakhs north of Kām-Firūz. Yazdikhwāst [23] and Dih Girdū [24] lie on the road to Isfahān, and in this connection Abādah [25] (which still exists, and is not to be confounded with the town of the same name on Lake Bakhtigān) is mentioned, lying to the east of Dih Girdū. Shūristān, according to the *Fārs Nāmah*, lay half-way between this northern Abādah and Yazdikhwāst, while Dih Mūrd—'Myrtle Village'—called by the Arab geographers Kariyat-al-Ās or Būdanjān, stood by the shore of Lake Bakhtigān, half-way between the southern Abādah and Sāhik. Rādhān, according to Iṣṭakhrī (p. 102), lay half-way between Sāhik and Shahr-i-Bābak.

In the south-eastern part of Fārs, the town of Jahram [26] is well known, and was famous in the time of Mustawfi for the strong castle, lying five leagues away on a hill-top, called Kal'ah Khūrashah (L. 179*½*). Juvaym [27] of

Abu Ahmad¹ lies south-east of Jahram, and its castle too was famous, being known as the Kal'ah Samīrān or Shamīrān (L. 179*p*). The city of Fasā lies north of Jahram, on the border of Shabānkārah; Shakk Rūdbār and Mishānān (or Pishkānāt in some MSS.) were of its dependencies, and the castle called Kal'ah Khavādān (L. 179*m*) was a strong place in the neighbouring district.

Kāzirūn lies west of Shīrāz, on the road down to the sea. Mustawfi gives a long account of the place, which had originally consisted of three towns. In the plain to the east of Kāzirūn is the lake which Mustawfi calls the Buhayrah Mawz, but the reading of the name is doubtful, both in the *Nuzhat* MSS. and in the text of Ibn Hawkal (p. 193), from whom, apparently, he has taken the name of the lake. The ruins of the old city of Shāpūr [28] are to be seen at some distance west of Kāzirūn, and have been described by De Bode (*Luristān*, i, 214) and others. Shāpūr city appears originally to have been known as Bishāvūr (for Bih-Sābūr). Mustawfi gives a long account of the place, and further describes the colossal statue of King Shāpūr, which may still be seen in the neighbouring cave. Anbūrān was a small town near Nawbanjān [29], and Bāsh̄t Kūtā (some MSS. give Māsh̄t Fūtā) a district in the mountains near, the whole of this neighbourhood being known under the name of Bilād Shāpūr, or the Shāpūr Country. Tīr Murdān [30] was an important place mentioned by Yākūt (i, 905), and it lay, according to 'Alī of Yazd (i, 607), beyond the Valley of Bāvvān and west of Karkān, which is mentioned in the Itinerary (Route xxxiii); the place called Jūbkān (or Khūbigān) and other districts were in its neighbourhood.

The mountain region called Jabal Jilūyah was on the Luristān border, and the name is probably connected with

¹ So named to distinguish it from Juvaym [35], one stage to the north-west of Shīrāz (see Route xxxiii). This last is sometimes (incorrectly) written Juvayn; and in this case must not be confounded either with the city of Juvayn in Sīstān to the north of Zarānj (see Route xvii), or with the Juvayn District of Khorāsān (see Chapter 17) lying between Jājarm and Sabzivār.

the Kurdish Zamm, or tribe, of Jilūyah mentioned by İştakhri (pp. 98, 113). Mustawfi elsewhere (L. 206*q*) speaks of the mountains called Kūh Gilūyah, and apparently a neighbouring range was the Kūh Kūshid lying between Fārs and 'Irāk, where of old had lived a dragon slain by King Kay Khusrū, who then built here the Fire-temple afterwards known as Dayr Kūshid (L. 206*o*). Probably of this district also was the mountain of Kūh Mūrjān (or Mūrkān), in which was a cave, with dropping water, that was considered a talisman (L. 206*t*).

The Āb-i-Ratīn, which rose in the district of Khumāyijān, was an upper affluent of the Shāpūr or Bishāvūr river, the lower part of which was called the Āb-i-Tavvaj, where it passed the city of Tavvaj, or Tawwaz [1], before falling into the Persian Gulf (L. 219*a, f*). The Shāpūr river, up in the mountains, was joined on its left bank by the Āb-i-Jirrah, which, flowing down from the Māṣaram and Ghundijān districts, passes the city of Jirrah [31], which is some miles south-east of Kāzirūn. Before its junction with the Shāpūr river, the Jirrah river received from the south the combined waters of the Āb-i-Jarshīk and the Ikhshīn river, this last being famous for its stone bridge called the Kanṭarah Sabuk (L. 219*b, d*).

Gumbadh Mallaghān [32] lay about half-way between Nawbanjān and Arrajān, at the place now called Dū Gumbadān, where there are extensive ruins (De Bode, i, 258). It was famous for its castle, in the district of Pūl Būlū, which "was so strong a Kal'ah that a single man could hold it" (L. 179*r*). Khisht [33] and Kumārij [34] lie on the road down from Shīrāz to the coast, and not far from the banks of the Shāpūr river. Khullār [35], celebrated for its mill-stones, lies about half-way between Nawbanjān and Shīrāz; Khumāyijān, with Dih 'Alī, being a district to the westward of Khullār. To the north, on the Lur frontier, came the districts of Sishat (or Salḥat in some MSS.), also Būzrank and Ṣarām, which last Yālcūt (ii, 45) gives as Charām. Ghundijān, generally called Dasht Bārīn, was the region in the neighbourhood of Jirrah [31], and here stood the

castle called Kal'ah Dam Darān, or Ram Varān, for the name is variously given in the manuscripts (L. 179*n*).

Nawbanjān [29], more commonly called Nawbandagān, had been rebuilt by Atabeg Chāñlī; it was renowned for the great White Castle, and for the neighbouring valley called Sha'b Bavvān, always counted as one of the four earthly paradises, such was its fertility and beauty. Isfīd Diz, 'the White Castle,' also called Kal'ah Isfandiyār (L. 178*n*), after one of the heroes of ancient Persia, lies two leagues distant to the north-east of Nawbanjān, and occupies the summit of a table-mountain; it is accessible by one road only, being on all sides protected by precipices (Macdonald Kinneir, *Persian Empire*, p. 73). At the foot of the mountain fastness was a second smaller castle called Nishnāk (Nishkunān in some MSS.). Half a century after the time of Mustawfi, Kal'ah Safīd (as it was more generally called) became famous for the siege and sack which it suffered at the hands of Timur, as recorded by 'Alī of Yazd in the *Zafar Nāmah* (i, 600).

The Kūrah or district of Kubād Khurrah was one of the ancient divisions of Fārs, and according to Iṣṭakhrī (p. 125) it was that of which Kārzīn [6] was the capital, already mentioned, near the Zākān river, on the eastern border. Arrajān was the chief town of Fārs on the western side, towards Khūzistān. It is now a complete ruin, being replaced by Bihbahān, which appears to have been founded in the latter half of the fourteenth century A.D., after the time of Mustawfi, but prior to the date when Timur invaded Persia. In the account of his campaigns given in the *Zafar Nāmah* (i, 600), the city of Bihbahān only is mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd, though its river is called by him the Āb-i-Arghūn, that is to say, the Arrajān river, as confirmed by the statement of both Yākūt (i, 193) and Mustawfi, who write that Arrajān in their day was generally called Arraghān or Arghān. Its ruins lie not far from the bank of the (older) Tāb river, now known as the Jarrābī (see above, Chapter 11), which separates Fārs from Khūzistān. At the crossing of the river was the celebrated bridge called

Pūl-i-Takān, which is described by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 134). The ruins of this bridge still exist, also those of a second bridge likewise described by the Arab geographers, and fully noticed in the travels of De Bode (*Luristān*, i, 297), who, it may be remarked, was the first to identify Arrajān.

According to Hamd-Allah there were various castles of the Ismailian sect, known as the Assassins, in the hills above Arrajān. Such were Kal'ah Tayfūr and Diz Kalāt, this last being one league distant from the town of Rīshahr [36], otherwise called Rīshīr, which lay to the west of Arrajān. Büstānak [37] was the last stage in Fārs on the Khūzistān frontier, as given in the Itinerary (Route xxxiii). Hindijān exists, Habs (also given as Jīs or Khabs) and Furzuk were near Arrajān, but the spelling of these names is not sure, and their exact position is uncertain. Jannābā [40], also called Ganbah, was a celebrated port on the Gulf, the ruins of which still exist; it was originally named Gandāb, or 'the back-water,' by the Persians. The river called the Āb-i-Shirīn, which rose in the hills called Kūh-i-Dinār, flowed out to the sea near Mahrubān and is the modern Tāb or Zuhrah river. Near Jannābā was the mouth of the Sītādkān or Shādhkān river, which flowed down from the Bāzrank hills (this district has been mentioned above) and the region of Kaharkān (L. 218^v, *w*). According to Mustawfi, Jallādjān and Hayvūdīn (many MSS. give Hüdyīn) were districts near Arrajān; Mahrubān [38] was the port on the Gulf at the frontier of Khūzistān, Sīnīz [39] being the next port down the coast, eastward, and on the other side of the bay opposite Mahrubān.

The river Khwāndān, or Khūbdhān (L. 218^v), was an affluent of the Nahr Shirīn, which flows out to the sea near Mahrubān (the modern river Tāb; see above, Chapter 11). It rose in the Khūbdhān or Khwāndān hills near Nawbanjān [29], and in its lower course watered the district of Jallādjān already mentioned. There is, however, much confusion in the nomenclature of all these rivers of western Fārs; and this goes back to the descriptions of them given by Iṣṭakhrī and other of the Arab geographers, whose notices do not

tally with the streams as shown on our present maps. This is especially the case with the river called the Āb-i-Darkhīd (or Darkhuvayd), which flowed out of (some MSS. give it as flowing *into*) the Darkhīd Lake (L. 218*y*, 226*d*), which lay to the west of Nawbanjān. It was a large river and not easily fordable, but what stream it corresponds to on our modern maps is not very clear, though it may be that now known as the Āb-i-Shūr.

In regard to the celebrated castles of Fārs Ḥamid-Allah states that these had numbered over seventy in ancient times, but that most had gone to ruin with the lapse of time, and sixteen only in his day remained standing. All these have been mentioned in previous pages, when speaking of the various towns or districts to which each belonged, and it is needless to recapitulate them here, the list having been given in the table of contents to this chapter.

Hamd-Allah next enumerates the various Marghzārs, the celebrated pastures or meadow-lands of Fārs. That of Āvard (or Urd) was on the road between Isfahān and Shīrāz, near Kushk-i-Zard, two stages south of Yazdikhwāst (see Route xxvii); and the Marghzār of Dasht-i-Rūn (or Ravān) was one stage south of this again, near the Rubāt, or Caravanserai, of Salāh-ad-Dīn, whence it extended to the Shahriyār Bridge over the upper course of the Kur river. The Marghzār of Dasht Arzin lay near the lake of that name (L. 226*a*) on the road between Shīrāz and Kāzirūn; it was noted for the lions who haunted its thickets, and the same remark is added to the notice of the Marghzār of Shikān (Ushkān, Arashkān are other readings of the name) in the district of Juvaym of Abu Ahmad; in the neighbourhood of which also was the Marghzār of Bahmān. The Marghzār of Bid and Mashkān appears to have been near Tustar in Khūzistān; that of Baydā was near the town of that name in the Marvdasht plain. No position is given for the Marghzār of Shīdān close to which was 'the Lake of the Marghzār' (L. 226*c*), but this meadow-land was famous as being one of the four earthly paradises. The Meadows of Kālī (or Fālī or Fūl) were on the banks

of the Pulvār river, where also lay the Marghzār Kālān near the grave of the Mother of King Solomon, as the Moslems have named the Tomb of Cyrus; while further down the Pulvār river were the Kamīn meadow-lands. The Marghzār of Kām Firūz lay along the Kur river, where its thickets were haunted by lions; and lastly, the Marghzār-i-Narkis—‘the Narcissus-Meadows’—were between Kāzirūn and Jirrah.

The Persian Gulf and its Islands are described by Mustawfi at the end of his chapter on Fārs, and also at a later page (L. 222z) when describing the Seas; further, he gives the distances between the chief islands in his Itinerary (Routes iv and xxviii). Some confusion, however, exists in the names given during the middle ages to the various islands. The Island of Khārik still bears this name, and lies some forty miles north-west of the modern Bushire. On the road to India, and eighty leagues further down the Gulf, came the Island of Alān (otherwise Lān or Allār), which by the distances must be the present Island of Shaykh Shu'ayb. According to Mustawfi and other geographers, between this and Kays came the two islands called Abrūn and Khayn, and the former is probably that now known as the Hindarabi Island.

The great emporium (Dawlat - Khānah) of Kays, as described by Mustawfi, was the most populous island of the Gulf, and lay four leagues from Huzū on the mainland, where the road coming down from Shirāz reached the coast. From Kays the ships sailed for India, and at the narrows of the Gulf came the great island called Abrūkamānān (Abarkumān in some MSS. or Abarkāfān, with many other variants). Yākūt (iv, 342) calls this Lāft, or the Island of the Bani Kawān, and its name was spelt in a variety of different ways: but, undoubtedly, what is now known as the Long Island of Kishm (Jazirah Ṭawilah) is the place indicated. To the east of this came Hurmuz, which will be mentioned in Chapter 14 on Kirmān; and the island of Hurmuz was called Jirūn where the city of New Hurmuz came to be founded. A neighbouring island,

however, appears already from the earliest times to have borne the name of Urmūš or Urmūz, recalling the name of Hurmuz. It is mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah (L. 222z) and many of the earlier Arab geographers, as, for instance, Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 62), but what island this Urmūš now corresponds to is not very clear. The island of Jāsik may, from what Yākūt (i, 503) writes, be another name for the great Island of Kishm, and therefore a duplicate name. Besides Jāsik (or Khāsik) Mustawfi mentions (L. 222z) the islands of Kand, Anāshāk, and Lāhur (in the MSS. given as Lādur or Lāwur, and possibly identical with Lān or Lār already given), but these I am unable satisfactorily to identify.

Chapter 13. Shabānkārah.

Contents : Avīg, 181*k*; Darkān, 181*m*; İştahbanān, 181*n*; Burk, Tūrum, Khayrah, Nīriz, and Mishkānāt, 181*p*; Dārābgird, 181*r*; Kurm and Rūbānz, 181*w*; Lār, 181*x*.

What became the province of Shabānkārah under the Mongols, had formed the eastern part of Fārs in the time of the Caliphate, as already stated in the previous chapter. The name Shabānkārah does not occur in the earlier geographers, but the district came in Mongol days to be called after the people who inhabited it, the Shabānkārah being a powerful family settled in these regions during the period of the Saljūk supremacy. They waged successful war against the Saljūk Atabegs—against the Amīr Chāñlī, mentioned in the previous chapter, in particular; and finally after the fall of the Saljūks these Shabānkārah were left masters of the whole western part of Fārs.

Nearly all the towns named by Ḥamd-Allah as of Shabānkārah may still be recognized on the present map. The capital of the district was Īg, or Avīg, a strong fortress, with the town of Darkān [1], or Zarkān, situated at no great distance from it, both places still existing, and further,

being mentioned by the earlier authorities. İştahbānān [2], which the Arab geographers write variously as İştabanāt, İsbahānat, and İsbahbadhāt, is now called Savanāt, lying a short distance north-west of Īg; Niriz [3] lies to the east of it, and Khayrah [4] between Savanāt and the shore of Lake Bakhtigān (see Route xxxi), which, in its south-eastern bay, forms the northern frontier of the Shabānkārah district, and is often called the Lake of Niriz. Burk represents the town the name of which is now generally pronounced Forg, and which the Arab geographers wrote Furj. There is, however, the evidence of Mukaddasī (p. 428) that of old there were here two neighbouring towns, called Furj and Burk, and the latter site is now probably represented by the Castle of Bahram, described by Mr. Stack (*Six Months*, i, 156). Tārum [5] lies on the frontier to the east of Forg; the Mishkānāt (or Māskināt) district being on the road between Khayrah and Niriz.

Dārābgird had been the chief town of eastern Fārs in earlier days; there was near this in the hills a famous pass, called Tang-i-Zinah, commanded by a strong castle. The mountains of Dārābgird (L. 204^f) were celebrated for the salt, of seven diverse colours, that was dug out of the mines here, and in the southern part of the country was the mountain called Kūh-i-Rastak, "three leagues in height, like a snow-covered dome," where great serpents abounded (L. 204^g). The towns of Kurm [6] and Rūbanz (generally spelt Rūnīz, in error, in the MSS.) lay on the road towards Fasā; the first still exists, and Rūbanz or Rūbanj was the chief town of the Khasū district mentioned by Muḳaddasī (p. 423), the town of Khasū, now to be found on the map, being identical in all probability with the older Rūbanj city. Lār, which is not mentioned by the older Arab geographers, appears to have been a foundation of the Shabānkārah. Mustawfi speaks of it merely as a district (*Vildyat*), but his contemporary, Ibu Baṭūṭah (ii, 240), speaks of "the great city of Lār," celebrated for its five markets, and Ḥamd-Allah adds in his account that the people of Lār were mostly merchants who occupied themselves with sea voyages.

Chapter 14. Kirmān.

Contents: Guwāshīr or Bardasīr, 182 σ ; Bam, 182 \jmath ; Jīruft, 182 ℓ ; Khabīs, 182 n ; Rīghān, 182 σ ; Sirjān, 182 p ; Shahr-i-Bābak, 182 q ; Narmāshīr, 182 r ; Old and New Hormuz, 182 t .

The mediaeval Guwāshīr or Bardasīr, as has been shown in a previous paper (J.R.A.S. for April, 1901, p. 284), represents the present city of Kirmān. Mustawfi quotes (in Arabic) an anecdote having reference to the first Moslem conquest of Kirmān, when its inhospitable climate was reported on to Hajjāj, the Viceroy of Irāk, by the Arab commander. The text is, of course, most unintelligibly transcribed in the Bombay lithographed edition and in most of the MSS.; it will be found, however, given in full by Mas'ūdi in his *Meadows of Gold* (v, 341). Among other matters Mustawfi speaks of the Old Mosque in Guwāshīr, dating from the time of the Omayyad Caliph Omar II; he also refers to the celebrated garden called the Bāgh-i-Sirjānī laid out by the Amīr 'Alī Iliyās, who had removed the capital of the province from Sirjān to Guwāshīr, and who also built the great Castle of the Hill. Further, within the city was also the mosque known as the Jāmi'-i-Tabrīzī, founded by Tūrān Shah the Saljūk, this being that used for the Friday Prayer when Mustawfi wrote.

The town of Bam is on the eastern borders of Kirmān; Jīruft, of which the ruins exist at the present Shahr-i-Dākyānus (see J.R.G.S., 1855, p. 47), lying some distance to the south-west of it, being built on the river called the Dīv-rūd—‘Demon-stream’—from its violent course (L. 219 c), the stream now known as the Khalil-rūd. Khabīs lies east of Kirmān city near the desert border, and Rīghān or Rīkān is south-east of Bam. Sirjān, as I have shown in my paper above referred to, must probably be sought for at the ruins near Farīdūn. Sirjān had been the older capital of the Kirmān province, but in the time of Mustawfi, though merely a provincial town, Sirjān was still an important place

with a strong castle, and it only fell to ruin after the days of Timur. Shahr-i-Bābak still exists, in the north-western angle of the Kirmān province; while Narmāshīr stands on the desert border on the other side, south-east, towards Makrān.¹

On the south coast of Kirmān lay the port of Hurmuz on the mainland (at the site now marked Minao on the map), but this place, as Mustawfi records, had already been abandoned in his day. The King of Hurmuz, Fakhr-ad-Dīn—or Kūtub-ad-Dīn, as some MSS. give the name, following in this Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 230)—had migrated with his people on account of the attacks of brigands, and had established his capital for greater safety on the Island of Jirūn, one league distant from the shore (the present Ormuz Island).² This transfer of the capital would appear to have taken place in the year 715 (A.D. 1315), though nearly a century later, in the time of Timur, Old Hormuz, according to 'Alī of Yazd (*Zafar Nāmah*, i, 789, 809), was still an important city. There were mountains in Kirmān (L. 206*a*) where, says Mustawfi, a stone capable of being burnt for firewood existed (doubtless lignite), and this was used for fuel in those parts. To the north-east of Hurmuz on the Balūch frontier were the mountains called the Kūh-i-Kafs, which are frequently mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers; also in Kirmān was the range named Kūh-i-Kārin, which are the mountains more properly called Jabal Bāriz by the older geographers, but which Yākūt (iv, 148) had already misnamed, being doubtless the authority used by Mustawfi (L. 205*x*, 206*e*, and cf. İstakhri, p. 163, note *d*).

¹ The Bombay Lithograph gives Māshīz for Narmāshīr, but the latter reading is that of all the best MSS. and agrees with the statement that it was a town founded by Ardashir Bābagān, for Māshīz is a modern place.

² The history of Hurmuz is obscure; the best account of its rulers that I have met with will be found in the *Majma' al-Ansāb*, an historical work written about the year 743 (A.D. 1343). Of this work our Society possessed a MS., and another copy (Add. MS. 16,696) will be found in the British Museum Library. Dates are unfortunately very generally omitted in the *Majma' al-Ansāb*, but it gives an account of the Kings of Hurmuz, as also of the Atabeg Chāuli and others, who ruled in Fārs before the advent of the Sunkūri Atabegs, hence it is a valuable authority. For the present state of Hurmuz see the papers by Captain Stiffe in the *Geographical Magazine* for 1874, vol. i, p. 12, and the J.R.G.S., 1894, p. 160.

Chapter 15. The Desert.

Contents: Jarmak, 183b; Sanj and the two cities of Tabas, 183c; Kuhbinān, 183d; Nih, 183e.

The great salt desert of central Irān, which is now generally known as the Kavīr (a name of uncertain etymology), is always referred to by Mustawfi by its Arabic name, Mafūzah, meaning 'the wilderness.' He describes it as extending from the village of Sūmghān—which the Mughāls called Āk Khwājah, lying a little south of Kazvīn—right across Persia in a south-easterly direction, and reaching nearly down to the sea of 'Omān at Hormuz. The south-western limit of the desert was marked by the towns of Sāvah, Kum, Kāshān, Zavārah, Nāyin, Yazd, and thence along the Kirmān and Makrān border to the mountains above the coast. The north-eastern limit of the desert went by Ray along the borders of Kūmis and part of Khurāsān, then by Kūhistān and Zāvil down to Sīstān, and thence to the neighbourhood of Hormuz.

In the middle of the Great Desert, half-way across on the road going from Nīshāpūr to Isfahān, lay the three villages of Jarmak in an oasis where there were water springs. This oasis, the position of which is fixed by the Arab Itineraries, was visited in 1875 by Colonel Macgregor (*Khurāsān*, i, 91); its chief village is now called Khur, and the district is Bīyābānak—'Little waterless place'—by which name it was already known in the seventeenth century, being mentioned by Tavernier in his Travels (*Voyages*, i, 769; La Haye, 1718). The position of Sanj is also fixed by the Arab Itineraries; it was on the Kirmān frontier, half-way between Narmāshīr and Zarānj. While there is no doubt about the position, there is some about the name, which in many MSS. of the Arab geographers may be read Safid or Isfand in place of Sanj (cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 228, note r), and the MSS. of the *Nuzhat* confirm the doubtful reading.

Tabas, on the Sistān border, will be mentioned in the following chapter; Kuhbinān (the Cobinan of Marco Polo) is on the Kirmān side, and has been visited by Mr. Stack (*Six Months in Persia*, i, 231). Lastly, of the towns mentioned Nih is in Sistān, as marked on the map. On the extreme north-western border of the Great Desert, not far from the high road going down from Ray to Kum, lay the mountains called Kūh-i-Kargas—‘the Vulture Hills’—and according to Mustawfi (L. 206r) their recesses were the chosen home of the Ibex (*Wa'il*). The Vulture Hills are doubtless the present Siyāh-Kuh—‘the Black Hills’—overlooking the Kavīr, some distance to the east of Kum.

Chapter 16. Sijistān or Nimrūz, and Kuhistān.

Contents : Zaranj, 183g ; Turshīz, 183m ; Kishmar, 183o ; Tūn, 183s ; Bajistān and Junābad, 183x ; Dasht-Biyād and Fāris, 184b ; Birjand, 184e ; Khūsf, 184e ; Sūkhis or Shukhīn, 184f ; Zirkūh, 184g ; Tabas Masīnūn, 184h ; Tabas Kilakī, 184m ; Kāyīn, 184p ; Kal'ah Darah, 184u ; Mumīnābād, 184v ; Zāvil, 184w ; Firūzkūh, 184x ; Ghaznayn, 184y ; Tarmishah, 185b ; Maymanah, 185c ; Karnayn, 185d .

Sistān, by the Arabs written Sijistān, was of old called Nimrūz, meaning ‘Midday,’ a name said to have been given to the province in regard to its position south of Khurāsān. Kuhistān—‘the Mountain-land’—was the north-western part of this country, and in older times it was more often included in the Khurāsān government.

Zaranj, the capital, also known as Sistān city, was a great place in the middle ages. It was completely destroyed by Timur half a century after the time of Mustawfi, and the extensive ruins of the old town, the name of Zaranj having long since been forgotten, lie some miles to the north-east of Nāṣirābād (or Naṣratābād), the modern capital of Sistān, near the hamlets of Pishāvarān and Nād 'Alī. The city of Zaranj lay along the bank of the Siyāh-čūd — ‘the Black Canal’ — a branch from the Helmund river. The

Āb-i-Hirmand, as Mustawfi spells the name (L. 216*s*), rises in the mountains of Ghūr, and after passing the fortress of Bust curves round northward to the city of Zaranj, flowing out finally into the Zirrah Lake from the eastward by many mouths and canals. From the north the Zirrah Lake received the water of the Āb-i-Farah, the river which passed the town of Farah, and which like the Helmund also rose in the mountains of Ghūr, in what is now north-western Afghanistan (L. 216*t*, 226*p*). ^

Turshīz was the chief city of the Kuhistān province, and near it was the village of Kishmar,¹ famous for the great cypress-trees planted by Zoroaster, as related by Firdūsī in the *Shāh Nāmāh* (Turner-Macan, iv, 1067). Near Turshīz were four famous castles called Kal'ah Bardārud, Kal'ah Mikāl (or Haykāl), Mujāhidābād, and Ātishgāh ('the Fire-temple'). No town called Turshīz exists, but a district now bears this name, and from the Itineraries given by İştakhri (p. 284) and others Turshīz, anciently called Turthīth, or Turaythīth, lay one day's march westward of Kundur. Hence the ruins of the city are probably those seen at Firūzābūd, near the village of 'Abdulābād; and in any case Turshīz cannot be Sultānābād, the modern capital of the Turshīz district, for this lies east of Kundur.

Tūn is still one of the chief towns of Kuhistān, and according to Mustawfi was originally laid out on a Chinese plan, whatever that may signify. Bajistān [1], of which Yākūt (i, 497) also speaks, lies due north of Tūn; it is to be noted, however, that in the *Jahān Numā* (p. 326) and many of the *Nuzhat* MSS. this name is given as Tanjah, but probably in error. Junābād [2], generally called Gunābād, and which the Arab geographers write Yunābidh, lies north-east of Tūn; it was famous for its two castles, called Kal'ah Khwāshir and Darjān (or Darkhān). In the neighbourhood were the mountains called Kūh-i-Gunābād and Kūh-i-Zibād, which are said to be mentioned by Firdūsī (L. 206*n*). The district of Dasht-i-Biyād lies south of Gunābād and

¹ In Kazīnī (ii, 299) printed *Kishm* by mistake: but right in Yākūt (iv, 278).

east of Tūn; its chief town was Fāris [3], now generally called Kal'ah Kuhnah, or 'the Old Castle.' Birjand [4] lies at some distance to the south-east of Tūn, and to the west of Birjand is Khūsf [5], a name which the Arab geographers write Khawst; the position of Sūkhis (Shāhīn, Sūhīn, and Shakhīn are manuscript variants) appears to be unknown. Zirkūh—'the Foot-hills'—is the name of a district marked on the map as lying to the eastward of Kāyīn; Mustawfi states that it had three towns, namely, Iṣfādan [6], Istind [7], and Shārakhs [8], all of which may still be found on the map.

During the middle ages there were two cities called Tabas, namely, Tabas Kīlakī [9], which in the Arab geographers is given as Tabas-at-Tamr—'Tabas of the Date'—and Tabas Masīnān [10], formerly known as Tabas-al-'Unnāb—'Tabas of the Jujube-tree.' From the distances given in the Arab Itineraries it would appear that Tabas Kīlakī (or Gilaki) is the place still marked in our maps as Tabas, which lies on the desert border, and this agrees with what is said of the limits of the Mafāzah, or Great Desert, in the previous chapter. The position of Tabas Masīnān cannot be exactly fixed, but the evidence of Ibn Hawkal (p. 335) and the other Itineraries would place it about half-way between Tūn and the other (the present) Tabas, which last is often named Tabasayn. The city of Kāyīn lies east of Tūn, and was noted as the central point of Kuhistān; the Castle of Darah [11] is south-east of Birjand, and Muminābād is the name of the mountainous district to the east of Birjand.

In regard to Zāvil, Mustawfi gives this as the name of a town with its surrounding district, and in the previous chapter he has mentioned Zāvil as lying on the north-western border of the great desert. The name does not occur in Yākūt or any of the earlier Arab geographers, but Monsieur B. de Meynard, in a note to his *Dictionnaire de la Perse* (p. 35), quoting the author of the *Mubārik Shāhī*, states that Zāvil was a district near Asfuzār (Sabzivār of Herat), and that it was watered by eighty streams on which stood water-mills. Firūzkūh—'Turquoise Mountain'—is

probably the ancient capital of Ghūr, which will be noticed in the next chapter, the exact position of which, in what is now north-western Afghanistan, is unknown. Ghaznayn, otherwise Ghaznah, needs no comment, but I am unable to identify the place written Tarmishah (Tārīt, Tarmast, etc., are variants given in the MSS.); possibly it is merely a mistake for, and duplicate of, Turshiz. Maymanah, which the Arab geographers called Yahūdiyah — 'Jew-town' — lies east of Bālā Murghāb, in the north-west of modern Afghanistan; and the city of Karnayn, celebrated as the birthplace of Layth, the founder of the Saffarids, lies in the desert one march to the north of Khāsh on the river Helmund, according to the distances given by Ibn Hawkal (p. 306).

Chapter 17. Khurāsān.

Contents: Nīshāpūr, 185^m; Shādyākh, 185^u; Isfārāyin, 186^g; Bayhaq and Sabzivār, 186^l; Biyār, 186ⁿ; Juwayn, 186^o; Jājarm, 186^r; Khabūshān, 186^u; Shaqqān, 186^w; Tūs, 186^x; Kalāt and Jirm, 187^e; Marīnān, 187^f; Herāt, 187^h; Asfuzār, 187^s; Fūshanj, 187^t; Mālān and Būkharz, 187^x; Bādgīs, 187^z; Jām, 188^e; Chāst, 188^g; Khwāf, 188^j; Zāwah, 188^m; Ghūr, Balkh, Tukhāristān, Bāmiyān, and Panjīr, 188^o; Jūzjān, 188^t; Khutlān, 188^u; Saminjān, 188^w; Tāyīkān, 188^x; Tālikān, 189^a; Fāryāb and Kavāliyān, 189^b; Kālif, 189^d; Marv Shāhījān, 189^f; Shaburkān, 189^g and 190^b; Abīvard, 189^s; Khavārān, 189^t; Khāvardān, 189^u; Sarakhs, 189^z; Marv-ar-Rūd, 190^b; Māraz, 190^e; Kal'ah Māy, 190^f.

Khurāsān in the middle ages was far more extensive than is the province of this name in modern Persia. Mediaeval Khurāsān extended on the north-east to the Oxus, and included all the districts round Herat which now belong to Afghanistan. On the other hand, the small province of Kūmis, on the northern boundary of the Great Desert, which at the present day is included within the limits of Persian Khurāsān, was of old a separate district, and formed in the time of Mustawfi a province apart.

Hamd-Allah divides Khurāsān into four quarters (*Rub'*).

or districts; namely, Nīshāpūr, Herāt, Balkh, and Great Marv. Of Nīshāpūr city he gives a full account, describing its plan, which had originally been laid out after the fashion of a chess-board, and noting its walls and watercourses. The Arabs had written the name Naysābūr. Mustawfi devotes a paragraph to the great suburb of Shādyākh, which Yākūt (iii, 228) from his personal knowledge has also described. This had been built, or rebuilt, after the great earthquake of the year 605 (A.D. 1208) which had laid Nīshāpūr in ruins; but both suburb and city were again destroyed by the earthquake of 679 (A.D. 1280), and a third city of Nīshāpūr was the capital of Khurāsān when Mustawfi wrote. In regard to Shādyākh its ruins still exist some three miles to the east of the modern city (*Yate, Khurāsān*, p. 412).

Nīshāpūr had its chief water supply from a stream that flowed down from the mountains to the north-east of the town; and forty water-mills were turned by the stream in the two leagues of its course through the plain after leaving the hills. Five leagues distant from the city, on the watershed of the range dividing Nīshāpūr from the Mashhad valley, was a small lake, about one league round, called Buhayrah Chashmah Sabz—‘the Lake of the Green Spring’—recently visited and described by Colonel Yate (*Khurāsān*, p. 353), from which Mustawfi reports that water flowed either way, east and west. Here the Amir Chūpān had built a kiosk on the brink of the spring, of which many wonders are told, and spectres were seen rising from the waters at certain seasons; further, the lake was said to be unfathomable (L. 2267). A great number of streams flowed down from this mountain range to the plain of Nīshāpūr, chief among these being the Shūrah-rūd or Salt River, into which at flood times most of the lesser streams ultimately drained, coming from the various sides of the plain. Mustawfi (in part copied by the *Jihān Numā*, p. 328) mentions the names of a great number of these, to wit, the Dizbād river, flowing to the village of this name on the Herāt road, the Āb-i-Sahr (or Sakhtar), the Khayrūd or Āb-i-Kharū, the

Tūsanķān or Tūshkān-rūd, the Āb-i-Pusht-i-Farūsh, the Khajank river, the Āb-i-Farkhak, the Āb-i-Dahr, and the Āb-i-‘Atshābād—‘Thirst River’—coming down by the Maydān-i-Sultān, but of which the water-supply so often failed as fully to deserve its evil name (L. 219*g* to 220*b*).

The town of Isfarāyin [1] in the centre of the plain of this name, at the ruins known as Shahr-i-Bilkis, recently described by Colonel Yate (*Khurāsān*, p. 378), was celebrated for its castle called Diz-Zar, ‘the Golden fort.’ Bayhaḳ was the capital of the great district of the same name lying south of Isfarāyin, and its ruins lie close to Sabzivār [2], which is the present chief town of this district. Biyār [3] lies on the border of the Great Desert, and is marked as Biyār-Jumand on our maps. Juwayn is the name of the plain south and west of Isfarāyin (see Route x) : its chief town is Fariyūmad, and Mustawfi mentions the hamlets of Bahrābād, Dāv, Kazrī, and Khudāshah [4]. The city of Jājarm is at the western limit of the Juwayn plain on the river Jaghān-rūd (L. 220*e*) ; in its neighbourhood is the mountain known as Kūh-i-Shakūk (Sakān, Sitān, etc., are other readings of the MSS.), whence a stream flowed forth from a marvellous cave (L. 205*m*).

Khabūshān, now known as Kuchān, is in the Mashhad valley to the east of Juwayn ; the city had been rebuilt by Hūlāgū, and the surrounding district was known as that of Ustuwā. The town of Shakān (or Shafān) I am unable to identify. Tūs, one of the ancient capitals of Khurāsān, is now a complete ruin ; it lies four leagues distance to the north-west of the shrines at Mashhad [5], which last is the modern capital of Khurāsān and means ‘the Place of Martyrdom,’ originally called the village of Sanābād. There lie buried at Mashhad the Imām Rīzā and the Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, with many other famous personages, their tombs being surrounded by what in the time of Mustawfi had already come to be a large city. In the mountain called Kūh Gulshān near Tūs was a great cavern with a spring welling from its depths, of which many wonders are related (L. 206*m*, and see Yate, *Khurāsān*, p. 351). The

great mountain fastness of Kilāt,¹ with Jirm for its chief city, lies to the north of Mashhad, and is now generally known as Kilāt-i-Nādirī, from the fact of Nādir Shāh having stored his Indian treasure here. This is one of the earliest notices of Kilāt, for it is not mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers, but it became famous in later times, notably after its siege by Timur, as described by 'Alī of Yazd in his *Zafar Nāmah* (i, 323). In 1875 it was visited and described by Colonel Macgregor (*Khurāsān*, ii, 51). The town of Marīnān (the MSS. give Marsān, Hafarmiyān, and many other variants) was within the limits of Kilāt.

Herāt was watered by the canals of the river Ḥarī-rūd. It had a famous castle called Shamīram, built over the ruins of an ancient Fire-temple, on a mountain two leagues distant from the city, and Mustawfi adds a long account of the town, its markets and its shrines, giving the names of the various city canals derived from the Ḥarī-rūd (L. 216p). The river of Herāt rose in the mountains of Ghūr; after passing Herāt it watered the Fūshanj district, and thence flowed north to join the Sarakhs river (the modern Tejend-āb). Asfuzār, now generally called Sabzivār of Afghanistān, is a town at some distance to the south of Herāt, and is mentioned in the Itineraries (Route xvii, and Ibn Hawkal, p. 305). Fūshanj [6], or Būshanj according to the same authorities, must be identical with the present city of Ghūriyān lying west of Herāt near the Ḥarī-rūd; and under the name Fūshanj it sustained a siege by Timur, as described in the *Zafar Nāmah* (i, 312), but I have been unable to discover when its present name of Ghūriyān first came into use.² According to Mustawfi, Kusūy, or Kusri [7] and

¹ *Kilāt*, which has come to be the name of more than one important fortress-town of western Asia, is a word that apparently came into use at the close of the middle ages, and is presumably a Persianized form of the Arabic *Kal'ah* (spelt with dotted *k*), meaning 'a castle.' It is worth noting that the name Kilāt does not occur in Yākūt or, I believe, in any of the earlier Arab geographers.

² The name Fūshanj, or Būshanj, has apparently gone completely out of use; on the other hand, I can find no mention of this Ghūriyān in any Eastern author. Yākūt (iii, 821, 824) mentions Ghūraj, which he says is commonly pronounced Ghūrah, and is a village near the gate of the city of Herāt; and there was the village of Ghūriyān near Marv. Neither of these, however,

Kharkird [8], the former given in the Itinerary of Ibn Rustah (p. 172) and the latter by Ibn Hawkal (p. 334), were the chief towns of its district.

Mälän [9], apparently the town now called Shahr-i-Naw, judging by the distances in the Arab Itineraries, was the chief town of the Bākharz district, which lay further to the north along the left bank of the Hari-rūd, and the district of Bādghīs lies some distance to the eastward, away from the right bank of the Hari-rūd, being due north of Herāt. Mustawfi mentions Kārīzah, where Hakīm Barkātī had lived who founded the city of Nakhshab in Transoxiana, also as its chief town Gūnābād (or Kūh Ghanābād) [10]; and he names various other places both here and in the Itinerary (Route xviii) which cannot now be identified (viz., Buzurgtarīn, Lab, Jād, Ukarūn, Kālūn, and Dihistān), for the whole region of Bādghīs has now relapsed to the desert, though numerous ruined sites are to be met with near the river beds. The town of Jām [11], famous for its shrine, was by the Arab geographers known as Buzjān, later Pūchkān, and is marked on our maps. Chast (cf. Ibn Baṭūṭah, iii, 457) would appear to have been a town near Herāt, but its exact position is unknown, and the spelling of the name is uncertain. Khwāf [12], with its district, lies to the south of Bākharz, and Mustawfi gives its chief towns as Salām [13], Sanjān [14], and Zūzan [15], all of which will be found on the map, in the present Khwāf district. Zāvah is, as we learn from Ibn Baṭūṭah (iii, 79), the town now known as Turbat-i-Haydari, so called from the saint buried there, and Zāvah was the name of the surrounding region, also known as Bishak.

The great districts lying to the north-east of Khurāsān (in what is now Afghanistan) are only very briefly referred to by Mustawfi. Ghūr, the mountainous country lying between the head-waters of the Herāt river and the Helmund, has already been referred to in the previous chapter when

be the modern town of Ghūriyān, the name of which recalls the province of Ghūr, where the Ghūrid Sultans held sway in the latter half of the twelfth century A.D.

speaking of Firūzkūh.¹ Balkh is mentioned as being in ruins, and Bāmiyān was in a like condition, Changhīz Khān having ordered its utter destruction to avenge the death of a grandson who was killed during the siege, at the time of the Mongol invasion. Tukhāristān is the country along the southern bank of the upper waters of the Oxus, and Panjhir is the name of the silver-mine at the eastern source of the Kābul river. Jūzjān is the district westward of Balkh, of which Shaberkān and Fāryāb were the chief towns. The first-mentioned still exists, and the position of Fāryāb, which is described by Ibn Hawkal (p. 321) and Yākūt (iii, 840, 888), is fixed by the information given in the Itinerary (Route xii). Khutlān is the country lying north of the upper waters of the Oxus, Saminjān lay south-east of Balkh, and Tāyikān is the place which still exists of this name in the extreme east of the province of Tukhāristān, being sometimes, in error, written Tūlikān. The name Tālikān, however, is more properly given to the city of the Jūzjān district, the name of which has now disappeared from the map, but which, according to the Itinerary (Routes xii and xiiia), lay three marches distant from Marv-ar-Rūd (Bālā Murghāb) and a little off the high road going from that city to Balkh. This Tālikān is described by Ibn Hawkal (p. 321), Ya'kūbī (p. 287), and Yākūt (iii, 491); it was an important town, and its ruins are probably to be identified with the mounds of brick near Chachaktu, which have been recently examined by Colonel Yate.²

¹ In this passage, in place of Ghūr, many MSS. of the *Nuzhat* read Gharj, and some have Gharjistān. The name of this region has nothing to do with Georgia, or Gurjistān, to the north of Armenia, described by Mustawfi in Chapter 6; for Gharjistān took its name from the ancient kings of northern Afghanistan, called by the Arabs Gharj-ash-Shār. According to Yākūt (iii, 785, 786, 823) Gharjistān, often confounded with Ghūristān, and spelt indifferently Gharahistān or Gharistān, was the country along the upper waters of the Murghāb, to the eastward of Marv-ar-rūd. Its limits were Ghūr on the one side and Herāt on the other, with Ghaznah to the south-east. The sites of the many towns in Ghūr and Gharjistān, mentioned by the Arab geographers, are completely unknown.

² See *Northern Afghanistan*, by C. E. Yate (1888), p. 157. The Chachaktu ruins are forty-five miles as the crow flies from Bālā Murghāb, which last, I consider, undoubtedly represents Marv-ar-Rūd, and this distance may be counted as the equivalent of three days' march in the hill country. Kal'ah

Kavādiyān still exists to the north-east of Tirmid, which last is on the Oxus, and Kālif is lower down the great river, also on its right bank. Mustawfi gives a long account of Marv-i-Shāhījān, or Great Marv, on the Murghāb river. This river, as he says (L. 214*u*), had originally been called the Marv-āb or Marv river, but was in his days generally known as the Āb-i-Razīk. The *Jihān Numd* (p. 328) has Zarbak, and the MSS. give Āb-i-Rūbak or Zarīk, as in Yākūt (ii, 777), with other variants. It flowed down to Great Marv from Marv-ar-Rūd, or Little Marv, which is now represented by the place called Bālā Murghāb, as stated in a previous note. Abīvard [16] still exists, on the desert border north of Kalāt-i-Nūdirī. Khavārān [17], now Khabarān, and Khavārdān, its dependency, lie between Kalāt-i-Nādirī and Sarakhs, which last stands on the lower reach of the Herāt river after it has received on its left bank the stream coming down from Tūs and Mashhad. Lastly, Māraz (Yādaz and Yāzar, with other readings, are given in the MSS.) appears to be unknown, and the same remark applies to Kal'ah Māy, of which the MSS. also give many diverse readings (Bāy, Nār, etc.).

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, the province of Khurāsān in the middle ages extended as far north and east as the bank of the Oxus, which was held to divide the lands of Īrān from Tūrān; and when Mustawfi wrote there appears good evidence for the belief that the Oxus was pouring

Wali and Takht-i-Khātān, one or other of which is put forward by Colonel Yate (op. cit., pp. 194-6 and 211) as a possible site for Tālikān, being each of them only some twenty-seven miles distant from Bālā Murghāb, are both of them too near to suit the case. As regards the site of the city of Fāryāb, this may well have been at the modern Khayrābād, where there is an ancient fort and mounds with ruins, as described by Colonel Yate (op. cit., Map of the North-West Frontier of Afghanistan, and p. 233), who narrates some local legends of past times that have clustered round this site. The name of this Fāryāb of Jūzjān is also spelt Firiyāb by Yākūt (iii, 888), and it must not be confounded either with Fārāb, otherwise written Bārāb (now called Otrār), on the Jaxartes, or with Firāb, sometimes written Firab, on the Oxus, at the ferry of Chārijūy. It will be noticed also that there were during the Middle Ages three Tālikāns, viz., Tālikān, or Tāyikān, the town of Tukhāristān which still exists; next, Tālikān of Jūzjān aforesaid; lastly, the Tālikān district in Persian 'Irāk, to the south-west of Kazvīn, which has been noticed in Chapter 2.

its waters into the Caspian Sea, and not, except for an insignificant part, into the Aral, as is now the case.¹

In Appendix IV Mustawfi gives a description of the Jayhūn or Amūyah (L. 213^b, with which compare the Turkish translation in the *Jihān Nūmā*, p. 360), as the Arabs and Persians named the Oxus. The river had two sources, one in Tibet, the other in the Badakhshūn mountains; and along its upper course five great streams flowed in before it took up the waters of the Wakhshūb (L. 220^d) in the district of Sāghāniyan, where stood Tirmid over against Balkh. Flowing on through the desert, the Oxus next came to the Narrows, mentioned also in the Itinerary (Route xix), known as Tang-i-Dahān-i-Shīr—‘the passage of the Lion’s Mouth’—near Bukshah, of the district of Hazārasp, where the precipitous banks are hardly a hundred *gēz* (yards) across. This is the gorge which is now known as Deveh Boyun—‘the Camel’s Neck’—and according to Mustawfi the stream here passes underground for a couple of leagues completely hidden from sight. From Hazārasp down to the Aral Sea numerous canals are led off, some ending in the desert, some discharging their water into the Aral; but the main stream, Mustawfi says, after passing Old Urganj, turns down by the ‘Akābah-i-Halam (or Salam), which in Turki is called Kurlādī (or Kurlāvah), where the rushing of its waters can be heard two leagues away, and, thence flowing on for a distance of six days’ march, ultimately finds its exit in the Caspian Sea (Bahr Khazar) at Khalkhāl, a fishing station.

When describing the Caspian (L. 225^d), Mustawfi speaks of the Island of Ābaskūn, and he says “this island is now

¹ Professor de Goeje has written a most learned and interesting work on this subject (*Das alte Bett des Oxus*, Leyden, 1875), in which he seeks to discredit the statements of the Persian geographers, and in conclusion gives it as his opinion that the Oxus during all the middle ages (as at the present time) flowed into the Aral. I shall not presume to enter the lists against Professor de Goeje; I only quote in the following passages the authorities on the other side. But I may mention that Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had studied the question as a practical geographer, and knew as well the writings of the Persian and Arab authors, was always of a contrary opinion, holding that from the earlier years of the thirteenth century A.D. down to about the year 1575 the Oxus had continued to have its chief outflow into the Caspian, *not* into the Aral.

sunk under the water, because the Oxus, which formerly had flowed into the Eastern Lake (the Aral) lying over against the lands of Gog and Magog, since the time of the Mughāl invasion has changed its course, and now flows out to the Caspian; and hence, this latter sea having no outlet, the dry land (of the Ābaskūn island) has now become submerged by the rising level of the waters." Now, in regard to this alleged change in the Oxus bed at the epoch of the Mongol invasion, we have the contemporary evidence of Ibn-al-Āthīr (xii, 257) that Changhīz Khān in 617 (A.D. 1220) sent his armies against Khwārizm, when, after a siege of five months, Old Urganj was stormed, and the Oxus dykes which protected the city having been cut, the whole country was laid under water. The overflow appears to have drained off to the south-west, following a line of depression to the Caspian; for there is the evidence of Yākūt (iv, 670), a contemporary of these events, who describes Mankishlāgh as a strongly fortified castle "standing on the shore of the Sea of Tābaristān (i.e. the Caspian), into which the Jayhūn now flows."

In the work of Hāfiẓ Abrū, composed in 820 (1417 A.D.) under the patronage of Shāhrūkh, the son and successor of Timur—and Hāfiẓ Abrū must himself have been well acquainted with the geography of these countries from personal knowledge—we find the statement that the Jayhūn, "which of old flowed into the Lake of Khwārizm (the Aral), having made itself a new bed, now flows out to the Bah̄r-Khazar (the Caspian) at Kurlāvud or Kurlāvū, otherwise called Ak̄ranchah, by which cause the Aral Sea has come to disappear" (British Museum Manuscript, Or. 1,577, *folio 32b*). And again, in the paragraph on the Aral Sea in the same MS. (*folio 27b*), he says that, while formerly the Jayhūn had flowed into the Aral, "now, namely in the year 820, this sea no more exists, for the Jayhūn has made a new bed to itself, and flows out into the Caspian."

Finally, to complete the evidence on the double shifting of the Oxus bed, we have the account by Abu-l-Ghāzī, a native prince of the Urganj region, who states that some

thirty years before A.H. 1014, the date of his birth, which places the change in about A.D. 1575, the Oxus made itself again a new channel, and turning off at Karā-Uighūr-Tükāy below Khāst-Minārahśī, made its way to Tük Kal'ahsī and thence out directly to the Aral Sea, thus changing the lands between Urganj and the Caspian into a desert for lack of water. And in another passage he describes how in former times, namely, among the events of the years from 1520 to 1530 A.D., all the way from Urganj, by Pishgūh and Karā Kichit, to Uighürchah and Abūlkhan on the Caspian, there were cultivated fields and vineyards along what was still, when he wrote, the but half dessicated bed of the Oxus. (French translation by Baron Desmaisons of the *History of the Mongols and the Tartars* by Abu-l-Ghāzi Khān, vol. i, pp. 221 and 312, and Text in vol. ii, pp. 207 and 291, St. Petersburg, 1871.)

In regard to Khwārizm, now generally called Khīvah, which is the Delta land of the Oxus, it will be found that among the Itineraries Mustawfi gives two (Routes xiv and xix) leading across the desert to Urganj, one from Farāvah (Kizil Arvāt), the other from Great Marv. Khwārizm was at no time counted as of Īrān, but, as noticed in the Table of Contents of the *Nuzhat*, a short section is devoted to this Province in Part IV of the Third Book, treating of Foreign Lands, which may be summarized in the following concluding paragraph. Unfortunately, the names of towns as given in the MSS. and in the Lithographed text (L. 234g) are extremely corrupt, and, indeed, do not serve to clear up the many queries in regard to the names of stages in the two Routes which lead to Urganj.

Hamd-Allah begins by stating that at the time when he wrote the capital city of the country was Urganj, which, however, was then more generally known as Khwārizm (properly the name of the whole province). Formerly, he adds, the capital city was Fil, but the government was shifted first to Mansūrah and then to Urganj. The city of Kāth had in former times (he says) been known as Jurjāniyah (this, however, is undoubtedly a mistake), and

he then names a number of the more important towns, among which are Hazārasp, Darghān, and Madmīiyah, with many others whose names it is impossible to identify, finally Khīvah, a small provincial town (or *Kaṣbah*) which had recently been the abode of the Shaykh Najm-ad-Dīn Kubrī. We thus learn that already in the fourteenth century A.D. Khīvah was rising to importance; it is merely mentioned in the list of towns by the earlier Arab geographers, but Yākūt, writing a century before the time of Hamd-Allah, has devoted a short article to it (ii, 512), spelling the name Khīvak, adding that the common people of Khwārizm then already called it Khīvah. Under the spelling Khīvak the town and its governor are mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd, and this was the scene of one of the early adventures in the life of Timur, who at a later period caused its walls to be carefully rebuilt (*Zafar Nāmah*, i, 62, 449).

Chapter 18. Māzandarān.

Contents: Jurjān city, 190*h*; Astārābād, 190*p*; Āmul, 190*g*; Dihistān, 190*t*; Rustamdār, 190*u*; Rūghad, 190*v*; Sārī, 190*x*; Kabūd Jāmah, 190*y*; Nīm-Murdān, 190*z*.

The mountainous region lying along the south coast of the Caspian, towards the east, was called Tabaristān in the early middle ages, *Tabar* having the signification of 'mountain' in the local dialect, whence Tabaristān would have had the meaning of 'the Mountain Country.' This name, however, about the time of the Mongol conquest, gave place to that of Māzandarān; the new province being taken to include Jurjān on the east, which formerly had been reckoned as a separate district and not included in the older Tabaristān. Māzandarān is divided by Mustawfi into seven districts, namely, Jurjān, Mūrustāk (with variants Murdistān, etc.; the *Jihān Numā*, p. 339, has Bard-Mūrustāk), Astārābād, Āmul with Rustamdār, Dihistān, Rūghad, and Siyāh Rastān (other variants of this last in the MSS. being Wastān, Sitān,

Sāristān, and in the *Jihān Numā*, Sāstān). Of these seven, the positions of three, namely, of Mūrustāk, of Rūghad, and of Siyāh Rastān, are entirely unknown, and these names are not apparently mentioned by any other geographer.

In his Appendix on the Rivers Mustawfi notes that the district of Jurjān was watered by two rivers, namely, by the lower part of the Āb-i-Atrak (L. 212a), which had its springs near Khabūshān and in the famous plain of Nīsā (now Darrāsh-Gaz) of Khurāsān; and next by the Jurjān river (L. 213u), on which stood the city of Jurjān; both the Jurjān river and the Atrak flowing out to the Caspian within the Jurjān territory. Jurjān City in the time of Mustawfi was a ruin, Astarābād being the capital of the district. Dihistān lay on the northern frontier; the ruins of it are probably those now known as Mashhad-i-Miṣriyān, and it was the outpost against the Turks and Kurds on the road to Khwārizm.

Āmul has always been the capital of Tabaristān, and Rustamdār is the district already noticed in Chapter 2 as lying along the bank of the Shāhrūd which as Rūdbār was counted as of Persian Tārik. According to the *Nuzhat Rūghad* (Rū'ad in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 341) was a medium-sized town, being also the name of the surrounding district; the site is unknown, but it lay presumably in Tabaristān, among the mountains overlooking the Caspian. The city of Sūrī is still a flourishing place, and its district was that which Mustawfi names Kabūd Jāmah, while Nīm-Murdān (neither name being mentioned by the Arab geographers, though both are copied into the *Jihān Numā*, p. 341) was a populous island or peninsula, with Shabrabād for chief town, at the south-eastern angle of the Caspian, presumably now represented by the tongue of land forming the northern limit of Astarābād Bay. As of Tabaristān, Mustawfi mentions the mountains called Kūh Tārik and Kūh Haram, or Hajam (L. 205r, 207a), where marvellous caves and wondrous sights were to be seen, but the position of neither mountain is given, and these names do not appear on our present maps.

Chapter 19. Kūmis.

Contents : Khuvār, 191*d*; Dāmghān, 191*e*; Samnān, 191*k*; Busṭām and Āhūvān, 191*j*; Girdkūh, 191*l*; Firūzkūh, 191*m*; Damāvand, 191*n*; Firrim, 191*p*; Khurkān, 191*r*.

Kūmis was the name of the province lying along the desert border south of the great mountains of Ṭabaristān; most of the towns mentioned by Mustawfi still are found, but now included in Khurāsān, for as a separate province Kūmis no longer exists, and the name even is gone out of use. In the vicinity of Dāmghān was a mountain called Kūb-i-Zar—‘Gold Mountain’—where mines of the precious metal were worked (L. 204*q*), and Dāmghān itself is still an important city. Khuvār [1] is the town now called Aradūn, but the district round is known under the old name, and Khuvār or Aradūn, called Khuvār of Ray or Mahallah-i-Bāgh, is on the great eastern high road from Ray into Khurāsān (see Route ix). Samnān [2] stands half-way between Khuvār and Dāmghān, Busṭām (Bisṭām or Bastām) lying further to the eastward of this last, while Āhūvān [3] is a Rubāt or Guardhouse between Dāmghān and Samnān.

The fortress of Girdkūh [4], called also Diz-i-Gumbadhān—‘the Domed Fort’—lay in the mountains three leagues distant from Dāmghān, and Manṣūrābād was in its vicinity. The celebrated stronghold of Firūzkūh [5] stands at the head-waters of the stream flowing down to Khuvār; due west of it lies the town of Damāvand [6], which Mustawfi says was originally called Pashyān, the town lying a considerable distance to the south of the famous Damāvand mountain of Ṭabaristān. The position of Firrim, mentioned also by Yākūt (iii, 890) and other Arab geographers, has not been identified. Khurkān was a town of the district of Busṭām, lying four leagues distant therefrom, on the road towards Astarābād, as is mentioned by Yākūt (ii, 424) and Kazvīnī (ii, 243).

Chapter 20. Gilān.

Contents: Iṣfahbad, 191^v; Tūlim, 191^x; Tamījān, 191^y; Rasht, 191^z; Shaft, 192^a; Fūmin, 192^b; Kūjasfahān, 192^c; Kawtam, 192^d; Karjuyān, 192^e; Lāhijān, 192^f; Ta'sar, 192^h.

Gilān, or the Jilānī Province, was backed by the mountains of Daylām, and lay on the shore of the Caspian at the mouth of the river Sufid-rūd. Iṣfahbad, or Ispahbid, as is well known, was the name given to the semi-independent governors of this province under the Sassanian kings, and the Ispahbids continued to rule as princes under the early Caliphs; the city of Ispahbudān is mentioned by Yākūt (i, 298) as lying two miles from the sea-shore, but apparently no trace of it now remains. In the time of Mustawfi, however, Iṣfahbad was a medium-sized town surrounded by a district with nearly a hundred villages, and its revenues amounted to 29,000 dīnārs, or about £7,000. Tūlim is now the name of a district lying west of Rasht, the town of Tūlim [1] having presumably gone to ruin, both this and the town of Tamījān (or Taymjān) having disappeared from the map. Mustawfi is one of the first authorities to mention Rasht,¹ now the chief town of Gilān, and it was already in his day famous for its silk stuffs.

The town of Shaft [2] no longer exists, but the district of this name lies south of Rasht, and to the westward of it is the Fūmin [3] district, with the town of Fūmin as its chief place. Of Kūjasfahān (Kujastān is the spelling given in the *Jihān Nūmā*, p. 344, with Kujkān, Kūjfahān, and other

¹ In the *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* (vols. iii, 52, 53, and ix, 282), a series of copper coins is described, bearing the numbers 107, 107^a, 107^b, 108, which are dated 595 A.H. and 598 A.H., and attributed to the mint-city of Rasht. These coins bear the name and titles of Sulaymān II, the Saljuq Sultān of Rūm, and if the reading *Rasht* be accepted, would go to prove that the Saljuqs of Rūm exercised sovereign rights in Gilān, and that Rasht was already an important city at the close of the sixth century A.H. The reading, however, does not appear, on examination of the coins, to be tenable; and the facts as known to us from history are decidedly against Rasht having ever belonged to Sulaymān II of Rūm.

readings in the MSS.), originally built by Ardashîr Bâbgân and named Sahmish, nothing is now known; and the same has to be said of the town of Karjuyân, given also as Kirjân or Kahyân in the MSS., but not named elsewhere. Kawtam [4], on the sea-shore, a good port near the mouth of the Safid-rûd, though mentioned by Yâkût (iv, 316), is apparently now lost, being represented by the modern Kûhdam district lying eastward of Shaft. Lâhijân [5] still exists, and by Mustawfi is held to be the capital of Gilân, being famous for its fruit gardens; but for Ta'sar, the last place mentioned in the list (with variants in the *Jihân Numâ*, p. 344, of Bishîshâh, also Nîsar, Nir, and Tastar in the MSS.), I am unable to offer any identification.

APPENDIX I. THE ITINERARIES.

For convenience of reference the Itineraries given consecutively by Mustawfi are in the following pages divided up into thirty-three Routes. Many of these are identical with the routes given by Ibn Khurdādbih and Kudāmah in their Road-books, and are found in other of the mediæval Arab geographers. Some of the routes not given by the Arabs are found copied from Mustawfi into the pages of the *Jihān Numā* of Hājjī Khalfah. The distances are given in Farsakhs, each equivalent to a league, or one hour's march.

Route I.—Sultāniyah to Hamadān and Kanguvār (L. 192*w*).—
 Sultāniyah 5 farsakhs to Bajshir village, thence 4 to the Ribāt of Atabeg Muhammad ibn Ildagiz, thence 4 to Karkahar village in the Hamadān province, thence 6 to Shāji village of Hamadān, thence 5 to Walaj village, thence 6 to the city of Hamadān, thence by the pass over mount Arvand (Elvend) in 7 farsakhs to Asadābād, and thence 6 to Kanguvār, the first village in Kurdistān.

As far as Hamadān these stages are not given in any of the Arab Itineraries—Sultāniyah, as already said, only having been built and made the capital of the Ilkhāns in the reign of Uljaytū—and most of the names of places mentioned in the list are uncertain.¹ Thus, Dih Bajshir is given in the various MSS. as Lajshir, Valāshjird, and Dih Bakshih (*Dih* being the Persian for 'village,' omitted or added, indifferently), and this may be Bijtayn, a village at the right distance south of Sultāniyah; the various readings given above would then be due merely to confusion in the placing of diacritical points. For Dih Karkahar some MSS. have Karkaharand, possibly for the present Kabatrungh.

¹ Much of this country is described in *Notes of a Journey from Kazveen to Hamadan*, by J. D. Rees (Madras, 1885), but the names given by Mustawfi do not occur.

Variants of *Sājī* are *Sāhibī*, *Masāh-jīn*, and *Sājū*. Muhammad ibn Ildagiz, the founder of the Ribāt mentioned above, was Atabeg of Adharbayjān and virtual ruler of 'Irāk from 568 to 581 (1172 to 1185). The word *Ribāt* (pronounced also *Rubāt* and *Rabāt*), which occurs frequently in the names of post-stations, means literally 'a tying-up place' and came to signify a hospice, or guardhouse, notably on the frontier.

Route II.—Kanguvār to Hulwān (L. 192s).—Kanguvār in 5 farsakhs to Sīhnah village, thence 4 to Jamjamāl City, thence in 6 farsakhs—the statue of the horse Shabdīz lying to the right of the road, with the portraits of King Khusraw and Queen Shirīn at a place where two springs gush out that turn two mills—to Kirmānshāhān, thence 6 to Khushkarish, thence 5 to Jākāvān, thence 6 to the villages of Kirind and Khūshān, thence by the Pass of Tāk-i-Kizā in 8 farsakhs to Hulwān city, the first place in Arabian 'Irāk; but by the Gil wa Gilān road this last stage is easier, though one farsakh longer.

The stages from Hamadān going south-west, but given the reverse way, are part of the great eastern high road leading from Baghdād to Marv, found in all the Arab Itineraries. Khushkarish is the reading in Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 19); the *Nuzhat* MSS. give various readings, as Hakārmish, Chakārish, etc., and no place of this name now exists. The next place, Jākāvān, is not identical with any stage mentioned by the Arab Itineraries, and many variants are given, e.g., Dīh Hisākavān, Khafārkān, Hafākadān, Janākān, and Khiyārkavān. No village of Khūshān (or Harshān as a variant) is to be found on the map anywhere near Kirind; but the road down by Gil wa Gilān, and the Tāk-i-Kizā pass, are mentioned (L. 216n) as the place where one of the affluents of the Nahrawān takes its rise (see above, Chapter 1).

Route III.—Hulwān to Baghdād and Najaf (L. 193c).—Hulwān in 5 farsakhs to Ḫaṣr Shirīn, thence 5 to Khānilīn city, thence 5 to Rubāt Jalūlā built by Malik-Shāh the Saljūk, thence 5

to Hārūniyah, thence — with Shahrabān lying 2 farsakhs distant to the right of the road—in 7 farsakhs to Ba'kūbā city, and thence 8 to Baghdād. From Baghdād it is 2 farsakhs to Ṣarsar village, thence 7 to Farāshah, thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Bābil lying on the Euphrates half a league away on the right hand—to the Nil Canal, then 2 farsakhs to the city of Hillah, thence—passing the place where Ni'mrod threw Abraham into the Fire at Kūthā Rabbā, lying one league to the left of the road—after 7 farsakhs comes the city of Kūfah, thence 2 farsakhs distant lies the Mashhad (Place of Martyrdom) of 'Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, at Najaf on the desert border.

Most of the places mentioned in this and the next two Routes are given on my Map for Ibn Serapion. The Rubāt (Guardhouse) of Jalūlā, a place famous in Abbasid history, is probably the present Caravanserai of Kizil Rubāt. Dih Farāshah, nine leagues south of Baghdād, is not given by any other authority; other variants in the MSS. are Karūjah, Khawāshah, and Bādiyah-Farrash—‘the Carpet-spreader’s plain’—but the readings are most uncertain. The text of the *Nuzhat* after this gives the Routes beyond Najaf for the pilgrims crossing Arabia to Mecca and Medina, but these are here omitted, as belonging to countries outside the limits of Īrān, with which alone the present paper deals.

Route IV.—Baghdād to Başrah, and thence by sea to the Island of Kays (L. 1957).—Baghdād 5 farsakhs to Madāin, thence 10 to Dayr-al-'Ākūl, thence 7 to Jabbul, thence 10 to Fam-āṣ-Ṣilh, thence 9 to Wāsit, thence 10 to Nahrabān, thence 8 to Fārūth, thence 5 to Dayr-al-'Ummāl, thence 7 to Hawānit; thence passing by the canal called the Shaṭṭ-al-Mā to the Swamps, and on through the Nahr-al-Asad, after 30 farsakhs is the beginning of the Blind Tigris estuary, by which and the Nahr Ma'kil after 10 farsakhs is Başrah. From Başrah it is 12 farsakhs to 'Abbādān, whence 2 by fresh water to the open sea, thence 50 leagues to Khārik Island, thence 80 leagues to Al-Ān Island, thence 7 to Abrūn Island, thence 8 to the island of Chīn or Khayn, which is uninhabited, and thence 8 to the emporium of Kays Island.

The towns on this and the next two Routes will be found on the Ibn Serapion Map. For the islands in the Persian Gulf, see above, Chapter 12; a part of this Route is given in the *Jihān Nūmā*, p. 456.

Route V.—Baghdād to Rahbah (L. 195v).—Baghdād 3 farsakhs to Tall-‘Akarkūf, which is a hillock so high that it can be seen from the desert eleven leagues away; thence 8 farsakhs to the city of Anbār; thence by the way across the Sāmawāt desert you may reach Damascus direct in ten days, it being 100 leagues distant; or from Anbār you go to Rahbah (on the Euphrates), which last is 70 leagues from Baghdad.

Route VI.—Baghdād to Mosul (L. 195x).—Baghdād 4 farsakhs to Baradān, thence 5 to ‘Ukbarah, thence 3 to Bāhamshā, thence 7 to Kādisiyah, thence 3 to Sāmarrah, thence 2 to Karkh, thence 7 to Jabultā, thence 5 to Sudakāniyah, thence 5 to Bārimmā, thence 5 to the Bridge over the Lesser Zāb, a tributary of the Tigris, thence 12 to Ḥadīthah, thence 7 to Banī Tamān, and finally 14 farsakhs to Mawsil (Mosul).

The name of the place called Bāhamshā or Bājamshā by Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 93), a dozen leagues north of Baghdad, is uncertain; the *Nuzhat* MSS. give the name variously as Jamī‘ā, Hamsūsah, and Hamyā, with other variations. Banī Tamān, the last stage before Mosul, is also uncertain; variants are Banī Tahān in the MSS., and in Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 93) Tamyān, Tahmān, etc., are given.

Route VII.—Kanguvār to Isfahān (L. 195g).—Kanguvār 5 farsakhs to Bidastān, thence 3 to Nihāvand city, thence 4 to Farāmurz village, thence 4 to the city of Burūjird. Beyond Burūjird the road to Sābūrkhwāst turns off to the right hand, while going left from Burūjird it is 4 farsakhs to Hasanābād, thence 8 to Miyān-Kūdān, thence 3 to Minār, thence 5 to the city of Karaj. From Karaj it is 4 farsakhs to Dūnsūn, thence 5 to Āsan: here the more direct road to Isfahān turns off to the right, while going left from Āsan it is 6 farsakhs to Sangān, thence 6 to Jūy-Murgh-Kuhtar, thence 7 to Ashkūrān, thence 7 to Tirān, thence 6 to Jūy-i-Kushk, and finally 4 leagues to Isfahān.

The road going eastward from Kanguvār to Isfahān, in the Arab Itineraries, follows a different route to the one given by Mustawfi, though both pass by Karaj of Abu Dulaf, the position of which has been noticed in Chapter 2. The MSS. give a few variants; the name of the village of Farāmurz beyond Nihāvand is written Karūkirk in some copies, and Hasanābād appears as Junābād. Miyān-Rūdān—'Between Streams'—is on the upper waters of the eastern tributary of the Burūjird river, south-east of this town and south-west of Karaj of Abu Dulaf. From Karaj to Isfahān many of the places named on the map are not found, and the variants in the MSS. are Āsan or Māsan; for Sangān, Sitakān or Sakwīn. Ashkūrān or Ashghurān is marked on the map and given by Yākūt (i, 281) as Ashkūrān; he also mentions (i, 440) Bāb Kushk as one of the great quarters at the gate of Isfahān, and though this name has now disappeared, Tirān is a village marked on the map.

Route VIII.—Sultānīyah to Sūmghān (L. 196d).—Sultānīyah in 5 farsakhs to the village of Kuhūd, which the Mughāls call Sā'in Kal'ah, thence 4 to the city of Abhar, thence 4 to Fārisjīn, thence—with the city of Kazvīn lying 4 leagues distant on the left hand—in 6 farsakhs to Sūmghān, which the Mughāls call Ak Khwājah. Beyond this place the way divides; to the right one road turns off, going to Sagzābād in 5 farsakhs (see Route XXVI), while the main road towards Khurāsān continues onward, as given in the next Route.

The name Kuhūd is now not known, Sā'in Kal'ah having taken its place; the three next places will all be found on the map. Sūmghān, however, is wanting, and apparently is not mentioned by any other geographer; also the reading of the name is uncertain. Hamd - Allah, as will have been seen in Chapter 15, gives it as the uppermost limit of the Great Desert, and in the various MSS. the name appears as Sumkān, Suwīkān, Sūskān or Sūshkūn, Sūbīkān, Siyūtiān, and Sū's'an. It evidently was a place of some importance, and its position is fixed by the distances given between it, Fārisjīn, Kazvīn, and Sagzābād or Sagziābād.

Route IX.—Sūmghān to Bustām (L. 196*d*).—Sūmghān in 5 farsakhs to the village of Māmarah, thence 8 to Dāhand, thence 5 to Sunkurābād, thence 5 to Dīh Khātūn, thence 5 to the Place of Martyrdom (Mashhad) of the Imām-zādah 'Abd-al-'Azīm, thence 3 to the city of Ray, thence 6 to Varāmīn, thence 6 to the Rubāt of Khumārtakīn, thence 6 to Khuvār of Ray, which is called Mahallah-i-Bāgh (the Garden-Place), thence 6 to Dīh Namak (Salt Village), thence 6 to Rās-al-Kalb (Dog's Head), thence 6 to Dīh Surkh (Red Village), thence 4 to Samnān, thence 7 to Rubāt Āhuvān, thence 7 to Rubāt Hurmuz, also known as Jarm-Jūy (Hot-stream), thence 6 to Dāmghān, thence 6 to Haddādah, otherwise known as Mihmān-dūst (Guest-friend). From this place one road branches to the right, going direct to Nishāpūr by Sabzivār; to the left is the high road which passes through Jājarm, and from Haddādah by this it is 7 farsakhs to the city of Bustām.

The name Māmarah, one stage out from Sūmghān, is uncertain; the MSS. give various readings, as Yāharah, Mārbīn, Hāmrīn, and Hāmarah. Also the next stage is variously given as Dīhand, Dīh Pahand, or Sahand, and this name occurs again as one among the villages of Kazvīn mentioned in Chapter 2 (L. 146*r*). The remaining stations are for the most part those of the Arab itineraries, and will be found on the map; Rās-al-Kalb (Dog's Head), which Yākūt (ii, 733) refers to as a *Kal'ah* or Castle, is possibly identical with the present Lasjird, as already stated in the Introduction. Places named in the next two Routes have already been noticed in Chapters 17 and 19, or else will be found on our present maps; these being also for the most part identical with the stages given in the Arab itineraries.

Route X.—Bustām to Nishāpūr (L. 196*n*).—From the city of Bustām it is 7 farsakhs to Maghaz, thence 7 to Sultāniyah village (or Dīh-i-Sultān), thence 3 to Rubāt Savanj, and thence 6 to Jājarm. From Jājarm it is 8 farsakhs to the village of Āzadvār, the birthplace of Khwājah Shams-ad-Dīn Muhammad Sāhib Dīvān, thence 4 to Khūdāshāh, thence 3 to Bahārābād village, the abode of Shaykh Sa'd-ad-Dīn of Hamāh, thence 5 to Barzamābād, thence 4 to Tūdah (or Nūdah), thence

8 to Takān-kūh, thence 6 to Rubāt Būzinagān at the village of Ahmādābād, and thence 4 farsakhs to Nīshāpūr.

Route XI.—Nīshāpūr to Sarakhs and Marv-ar-Rūd (L. 196*a*).—Nīshāpūr 7 farsakhs to Dīh Bād, whence the road to Herāt branches to the right hand (Route XV); and from Dīh Bād, turning left, it is 5 leagues to Khākistar village, thence 3 to Rubāt Sangbast, thence 6 to Rubāt Māhī, thence 7 to Rubāt Tūrān (or Nū'ān); thence in 7 farsakhs, across two passes each of half a league, you go to Rubāt Ābgīnah, thence 6 to Sarakhs, thence 9 to Rubāt Ja'sarī, thence 7 to Mīl 'Omārī, thence 7 to Rubāt Abu Nu'aym, thence 5 farsakhs across the desert sands with no water to Āb-Shūr, thence 2 to Diz Hind, and thence 5 to the city of Marv-ar-Rūd.

Route XII.—Marv-ar-Rūd to Balkh and the Oxus (L. 197*a*).—Marv-ar-Rūd 7 farsakhs to Rubāt-i-Sultān, thence 5 to the village of Karajābād (or Kūchābad), thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Tālikān lying 6 leagues distant on the right hand of the road—to Āb-i-Garm (Hot-Spring), thence 5 to Kabūtar-khānah; thence 7 to Masjid Rāzān; thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Fāryāb lying two leagues distant on the right of the road—to Astānah, thence 6 to Rubāt Kā'b, thence 9 farsakhs across a waterless plain to the city of Shaburkān. Thence it is 2 farsakhs to the village of Sulbarān, thence 9 to Rubāt 'Alawī (the Alid Guardhouse), thence 1 to Dastagird, thence 5 to the village of Pārah at the Bridge of Jamūkhīyān, and thence 2 to Balkh. From the city of Balkh it is 6 farsakhs to Siyāh-kūh (the Black Hills), and thence in 6 farsakhs you come to the Oxus river over against Tirmid.

Route XIII.—In the British Museum MS. (Add. 16,736) is the following duplication, in part, of the preceding route:—Marv-ar-Rūd 5 farsakhs to Araskan, thence 7 to Asrāb, thence 6 to Ganjābad, thence 6 to Tālikān, thence 5 to Kashhān, thence 5 to Arghūn in the district of Jūzjān, thence 5 to Kaṣr Hūt; thence 5 to Fāryāb, thence 9 to Kā', thence 9 to Shaburkān, thence 6 to Sidrah, thence 5 to Dastagird, thence 4 to 'Awd, and thence it is 3 farsakhs to Balkh.

The first of these two routes is given, in part, in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 329), and between them they fix within narrow limits the positions of Tālikān and Fāryāb, two

important towns of the Jūzjān District, the names of which have apparently entirely disappeared from the map. Their probable sites have been discussed in Chapter 17.

Route XIII.—Busṭām to Farāvah (L. 197j).—From Busṭām by the pass called Nardibān-Pāyah it is 7 farsakhs to Dih Ganj, thence 6 to the village of Milābūl, thence 5 to Mūsā-ābūl village, thence 5 to the city of Jurjān. From Jurjān there are two roads to the northern frontier—one direct by the waterless desert, the other by Dihistān. By this last from Jurjān it is 9 farsakhs to Bīstān, thence 7 to the village of Muḥammadābūl, thence 7 to Dihistān; from here it is 7 farsakhs to Rubāt Kursī (or Gazbīni), thence 9 to Rubāt Abu-l-‘Abbās, thence 7 to Rubāt Ibn Tāhir, and thence 7 farsakhs to the city of Farāvah.

The MSS. give many variants both in this and the next route for the intermediate stages, which in the desert were mostly Rubāts or Guardhouses. For the part north of Jurjān city Sir H. C. Rawlinson may be consulted in the *Proceedings of the Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1879 (i, 170), and for Bīstān, which the MSS. give variously as Bāraz, Sārār, Sār-rūd, and Sard-rūd, he adopts the reading Sinābar-rūd, "a name restored to agree with the modern Sunābar." Farāvah, a place frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers, is probably to be identified with the modern Kizil Arvāt, this last being a corruption for Kizil-Rubāt, 'the Red Guardhouse.'

Route XIV.—Farāvah to Urganj (L. 197l).—From the city of Farāvah it is 8 farsakhs to Rubāt Khisht-Pukhtah, thence 8 to Khūshāb, thence 7 to Rubāt Taqhmāj, thence 7 to Karvān-gāh, thence 9 to Rubāt Sarhang, thence 7 to Minārah-gāh, thence 8 to Sail-Balī, thence 7 to Mushk Mabnā, thence 9 to Rubāt Maryam, thence 8 to the town of New Khwārizm, thence 6 to New Halām (or Khulm), and thence 4 farsakhs to Urganj, the capital of Khwārizm.

The stages of this desert road to Urganj, the city which the Arabs knew as Jurjānīyah, are given with a variety of readings in the MSS. The variants, however, are of no

great importance, since the stages merely represent halting-places, not towns or villages. Khwārizm-i-Naw—New Khwārizm—must be the capital of the province built to replace the town destroyed by the Mongols, and the ruins of *New* Khwārizm are now known as *Old* Urganj—Kuhnah Urganj; but what the place which Mustawfi calls Ḥalam or Khulm-i-Naw may represent—lying between the newer and the old capital of his time—it is difficult to determine. For Khwārizm in general see the concluding paragraphs of Chapter 17; also below, Route XIX.

Route XV.—Nishāpūr to Herāt (L. 197r).—Nishāpūr in 7 farsakhs to Dīh-Bād, where the road to Sarakhs already given (Route XI) goes off to the left, thence 7 to Rubāṭ-Badiṭ, thence 7 to Farhādān village, thence 7 to Sa'īdābād village, thence 5 to Dīh Khusrū, thence 7 to the city of Būjkān (or Būzjān), thence 6 to Gulābād, thence 10 to Kūshk Mansūr, thence 6 to the city of Fūshanj (or Būshanj), and thence 8 farsakhs to Herāt.

Dīh-Bād—‘the windy village’—is the place named in the Arab itineraries Koṣr-ar-Rīb, which has a similar signification; it is now called Dizbād-Pāyin. As noticed in Chapter 17, the city of Būjkān, or Būzjān, also written in two words Pūch-Kān, is by the Arab geographers called Zām or Jām, and is now known as Turbat-i-Shaykh-Jām, from the tomb of the Saint buried here. Fūshanj or Būshanj (see also Chapter 17) is the modern Ghūriyān, but when the town took this last name appears to be unknown.

Route XVI.—Nishāpūr to Turshīz (L. 197x).—From Nishāpūr going through a populous, well-watered country where are 80 villages, it is 5 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Sih Dīh (Guardhouse of the Three Villages), thence 4 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Nūr-Khān, thence 3 to Chāh Siyāh (Black Pit), thence 5 to the village of Dāyah, thence 4 to Dīh Murd, and thence 7 farsakhs to Turshīz. From Turshīz it is 25 farsakhs to Tūn, and 36 to Kāyīn, and likewise 36 to Būjkān.

Of the route here given none of the villages appear now to exist; their names are not found in the Arab itineraries;

village of Mālīsh (Bālīsh, or Tālīsh), thence 6 to the city of Ardabil, thence 8 to Rubāt Arshad, thence 8 to the village of Varank, to the east of which, one farsakh distant, lies Barzand, formerly a city, now a mere village, and thence 4 farsakhs to Bājarvān, formerly a city, now only a village.

This route, which is found in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 389), gives the position of Kūghadh Kunān or Khūnaj, already mentioned in Chapter 2, which was a mint city. The name of the pass near the Sufid-rūd is doubtful; it is variously given in the MSS. as Girīvah-i-Pardahlīs, Buzurgtar, or Barūlah, and the Sanjīdah is also a river mentioned among the affluents flowing into the Sufid-rūd. North of Ardabil the ruins of Barzand exist, and this fixes the position of Bājarvān; for Arshad some MSS. give Arand; and for Varank the variants are Varlak, Dharīk, Dartak, with other readings.

Many of the places on this route, with those to be mentioned in Route xxi, have been already referred to in the notes to Chapter 4 on Müghān.

Route XXI.—Bājarvān to Maḥmūdābād (L. 198s).—Bājarvān in 8 farsakhs to Pilsuvār, thence 6 to Jūy-i-naw (New Canal), and thence 6 to Maḥmūdābād Gāybārī.

Route XXII.—Bājarvān to Tiflīs (L. 198u).—Bājarvān in 7 farsakhs to the village of 'Alī Beg, thence 6 to the village of Bakrābād, thence 2 to the bank of the river Aras, which is the frontier of Karābāgh, thence 3 to the village of Har, thence 5 to Ghark, thence 4 to the village of Labandān, thence 3 to Bāzārčūk, thence 4 to the city of Bardā', thence 1 to the city of Jūzbīk, thence 4 to Dih Isfahānī, thence 5 to Khānkāh Shutur, thence 5 to Ganjah city, thence 2 to the city of Shamkūr, now in ruins, thence 3 to Yūrt-Shādāk-Bān, thence 6 to the Aktavān river, thence 5 to Yām, and thence 4 farsakhs to the city of Tiflīs.

On this road to Tiflīs, Bardā' and Ganjah exist, also Shamkūr, but for the intermediate stages the MSS. give a variety of readings. Ghark is given as Fark, Kūra', Kirk, or Tūrak. Labandān appears as Dih Shuturān, or Katrān;

and the next stage may be read Darhük. For Jüzbük we get Jüzīnak, Khūrank, or Hūrish; and the name Shādāk is given as Sadmīyān or Sārikīyān; finally, Yām may be read Bām or Māndam.

Route XXIII.—Bājarvān to Tabrīz (L. 199b).—Bājarvān in 4 farsakhs to Barzand (as aforesaid), thence 6 to Rubāt-i-Ayyān built by the Vazīr Khwājah Tūj-ad-Dīn 'Alī Shāh Tabrīzī, thence 8 to the village of Bahlatān (Baylaqān, Dīn Sulīān, or Sahlaqān) known as the village of the Sāhib Dīvān, thence in 8 farsakhs passing the Rubāt (Guardhouse) built by the Vazīr 'Alī Shāh aforesaid standing in the valley called Darrah Farūjāy to the city of Ahar, thence in 6 farsakhs by the Pass of Gūlchah-Nil (the Blue Lake), in which stand two Guardhouses—one the Rubāt built by Khwājah Sa'd-ad-Dīn, the other by Amīr Nizām-ad-Dīn Yahyā of Sāvah—to the village of Arminān (or Arminiyān), thence passing another Rubāt built by the Vazīr 'Alī Shāh aforesaid at the stage of Yaldūk (or Baldūk) it is 8 farsakhs to Tabrīz.

The name of the valley called Farūjāy is in some MSS. given as Kirdjāy or Karūjāy; Gūlchah Nil appears as Kūkjāy or Kavīlah Nil, while Arminān or Arminiyān has the variants Aranmiyān or Larsān. Apparently none of these places are marked on our maps, but this route is copied into the *Jihān Numā* (p. 389), and in Appendix III, already quoted in the remarks on Chapter 3, Mustawfi (L. 217y) mentions many of these places when describing the course of the Ahar river.

The next four Routes, giving the Itineraries from Sultāniyah westward to Sīvās, and from Sūmghān (already mentioned in Route viii) southward via Isfahān to Shīrāz, need no comment, for the places mentioned will for the most part be found on the map, and have already been dealt with in Chapters 2, 3, 7, and 12.

Route XXIV.—Sultāniyah to Tabrīz (L. 199b).—Sultāniyah in 5 farsakhs to Zanjān, thence 6 to Rubāt Nikbāy built by the Vazīr Khwājah Ghīyāth-ad-Dīn Amīr Muhammād Rashīdī, and another Rubāt has been built here by his brother Khwājah

Jalāl-ad-Dīn, thence in 7 farsakhs to Sarcham, thence by a pass in 6 farsakhs to Miyānj, thence 6 to the village of Turkmān Kandi called Dayr Kharrān, which formerly was a city, thence 4 to the village of Shānkālāhāl, thence 4 to the city of Awjān, thence 4 by a pass to Sa'īdābād (or Sa'dābād), and thence in 4 farsakhs to the city of Tabrīz.

Route XXV.—Tabrīz to Sīvās (L. 199n).—Tabrīz 11 farsakhs to Marand, thence 12 to Khuví (Khōi), thence 6 to Shākmūhāl, thence 5 to Shahr-i-Naw, thence 3 to Band-Māhī, thence 8 to Arjīsh, thence 8 to Malāsjird, thence 10 to Khanūs, thence 5 to the Pass of Ak Aftan, thence 5 to Basīn, thence 6 to Arzan-ar-Rūm, thence 10 to Asjah of the district of Vasīrjāu, thence 10 to Khumān Kubūh at the foot of the pass, thence 4 to Arzanjān, thence 5 to the village of Khwājah Ahmad, thence 7 to Arzanjak, thence 8 to Ak-Shahr, thence 5 to Akarsūk, thence 8 to Zārah, thence 10 to Rubāt Khwājah Ahmad, and thence it is 4 farsakhs to Sīvās.

Route XXVI.—Sūmghān called Ak-Khwājah to Isfahān (L. 199o).—From Sūmghān it is 5 farsakhs to Sagzābād—this last being 24 farsakhs or 5 stages distant from Sultānīyah (see *Route VIII*)—and from Sagzābād it is 6 farsakhs to Rubāt Hājib, thence 7 to Rubāt Dawānlīk, thence 5 to the city of Sāvah, thence 4 to Āvah, thence 6 to Kum, thence 12 to Kāshān, thence 8 to the village of Kuhrūd, thence 6 to the village of Wāsiṭah, thence it is 6 farsakhs to the Rubāt Murchah Khūrd, and 6 on to the village of Sīn—or else from Wāsiṭah it is 12 farsakhs direct to Sīn by the Miyānī Road, but on this way are no habitations—and from the village of Sīn it is 4 farsakhs to Isfahān.

Route XXVII.—Isfahān to Shīnāz (L. 200o).—Isfahān in 3 farsakhs to the village of Isfahānak, thence 5 to the village of Mihyār on the frontier of Fārs, thence 6 to Kūmishah, thence 5 to the village of Rūdkān, thence 7 to Yazdikhwāst, from here the winter road down to Band-i-'Aqdū turns off to the left, while the (shorter, western, or) summer road is to the right, by Kūshk-i-Zard, namely, from Yazdikhwāst in 8 farsakhs to Dīh Girdū, thence 7 to Kūshk-i-Zard aforesaid, thence 8 by the Girīvah-i-Mādar wa Dukhtar (Mother and Daughter Pass) to the Rubāt of Salūh-ad-Dīn in the plain called Dasht Rūn, thence 3 to the Guardhouse at

the Bridge called Pūl-i-Shahriyār, thence 7 farsakhs through the very stony Pass of Māyīn to the town of Māyīn, thence in 4 farsakhs—passing by the Castles of Iştakl̄ and Shikastah which overhang the road on the left hand—to Pūl-i-Naw (New Bridge), thence 5 to Dīh Gurg (Wolf village), and thence in 5 farsakhs to the city of Shīrūz.

Route XXVIII.—Shīrūz to the Island of Kays and by sea to India (L. 2007).—Shīrūz 5 farsakhs to Shahrak village, thence 5 to the city of Kavīr, thence by the Girīvah-i-Zanjirūn (Pass of Chains), leaving Firūzābād 7 farsakhs distant away to the right hand, in 5 farsakhs to Rubāt Chamaukān, thence 5 to Maymanah, thence 6 to the beginning of the Simkān District, thence 6 to the end of this District, thence in 7 farsakhs to Kārzīn by the Pass of Sang-i-Safid (the White Stone), which is one farsakh short of Kārzīn, thence it is 5 farsakhs to Lāghir, thence 6 to the Fāryāb District, thence 6 to the city of Saj, thence 5 to Āb-Anbār-i-Kinār, thence 5 to Haram, thence in 6 farsakhs by many steep passes to the village of Dārūk, thence 6 to Māhān, thence in 6 farsakhs by the Pass of Lardak to Huzū on the sea-shore. From here you cross the water in 4 leagues to the city of Kays (on the island of that name). From this island it is 18 farsakhs to the Island of Abarkāfūn, thence 7 to the Island of Urmūs, thence in 70 leagues you come to the Island of Bār on the frontier of Sind, and thence it is 80 to Daybul, which lies 2 leagues from the mouth of the Mihrūn (Indus), which is the great river of Siud.

From Shīrāz to Kārzīn and Lāghar this road may be followed on the map, and the 'Pass of Chains' north of Firūzābād is still so named; but south of this, to Huzū on the coast (given by the Arab geographers as the port for Kays Island and city) the route is found in no other authority, and has not, I believe, been followed by any traveller in modern times. Variants are numerous in the MSS. The name of the city called Saj may be Sah, Haj, or Dah, with many other combinations of the diacritical points as Khabakh and Hanaj, etc. Haram appears as Sīram or Marmaz. Dārūk may be Dārzak, Ūrak, or Dāvrak; finally, Māhān is given as Hāmān or Māyān. From Kays

Island the sea road to India is that in continuation of Route IV already given, and in regard to the names of the islands in the Persian Gulf these have all been discussed in Chapter 12.

Route XXIX.—Shiraz to Kāzirūn (L. 200x).—Shiraz in 5 farsakhs to the Wall of Hājjī Kawwām, thence 8 to Dasht Arzin, thence 6 to the Rubāt (Guardhouse) at the head of the Mālān Pass, which is very steep, thence by the Hūshang Pass, also very steep, in 3 farsakhs to Kāzirūn.

The two passes named before Kāzirūn are those now known as the Kūtal-i-Pīr-i-Zan and the Kūtal-i-Dukhtar—the Passes of the Old Woman and of the Maiden: for the other places see Chapter 12.

Route XXX.—Shiraz to Hurmūz (L. 200z).—Shiraz in 12 farsakhs to Sarvistān, thence 8 to the city of Fasā, thence 6 to Timaristān village, thence 8 to Dārkān (or Zārkān), from which, turning to the left in 4 farsakhs, you reach the city of Ig, the capital of Shabankārah. To the right from Dārkān it is 10 farsakhs to Dārbāgird, thence 3 to the village of Khayr, thence 6 to Shabankān, thence 3 to Rustāk, and thence 3 farsakhs to Burk (Forg); from here it is 6 farsakhs to Tāshkū, thence 6 to Tārum, thence to the frontier of the Lār Province at Janād (or Chinār) it is 4 farsakhs, thence 8 to Chāh Chil, thence 8 to Tūsar on the sea-coast, whence by water it is 4 leagues to the Island of Hurmūz.

The places along the route have been for the most part noticed in Chapters 12 and 13. Tāshkū beyond Forg is mentioned by Dupré (*Voyages en Perse*, ii, 489); the MSS. give Tashlū, Dāshlū, Shalū, with many other readings; but Tāshkū is doubtless the true version. Tūsar, the port on the Persian Gulf, whence the crossing is made to Hurmūz Island, is given as Dūsar, Lawhar, and Luvilir in the various MSS. It must occupy, more or less, the position of the harbour named Shahrū by Iṣṭakhi (p. 170) and Sūrū or Sārū by Ibn Hawkal (p. 226), being identical with the later Gombroon, which is written Gumrū by Hājjī Khalfah (*Jihān Numā*, p. 260); and this last is generally held to have been

a corruption of *Gumruk*, the Turkish name for 'Custom-house' (from the Greek *κουμερκί*), which came into common use all over the East.

Route XXXI.—Shīrāz to Kirmān (L. 201^f).—Shīrāz in 8 farsakhs to Dāriyān, thence 8 to Kharranah, thence 4 to Khūlānjān, thence 6 to Kand (or Kid), thence 6 to Khayrah, thence 5 to Chāh 'Ukbah, thence 8 to Bulangān, thence 8 to Chāhik, thence 8 to Chāhik City, thence 8 to Sarūshak, thence 8 to Shahr-i-Bābak, thence 8 to Kūshik Nu'mān, thence 4 to Abān, thence 10 to the city of Sīrjān, from which it is 20 farsakhs to Kirmān (city).

This is the road by the southern side of Bakhtigān Lake to the towns of Little and Great Sāhik (or Chāhik) given by the Arab itineraries. The present ruins at Dih Chāh and Chāh Khushk probably represent these places. Great Sāhik was a city of some importance in the middle ages, where the road from Persepolis to Kirmān—along the northern shore of Lake Bakhtigān by Abādah City—joined the route here given coming from Shīrāz. For the reading Shahr Chāhik (Great Sāhik of the Arabs) nearly all of the MSS. give Shahr Atābeg, which possibly may have been the name of this place in the fourteenth century, though apparently not so given by any other authority.

The next route needs no commentary; it follows the nomenclature of the Arab geographers, and most of the places named will be found on the map, and have been noticed in Chapter 12.

Route XXXII.—Shīrāz to Yazd (L. 201^k).—Shīrāz in 5 farsakhs to the village of Zargān, thence 3 to the dam called Band-i-Amīr on the Kur river, thence 3 to the village of Kinārah in the districts of Hafrik and Marv Dasht, thence 3 to Fārūk, thence 3 to Kamīn, thence 4 to Mashhad-i-Mādar-i-Sulaymān—'Shrine of the Mother of Solomon,' namely, the Tomb of Cyrus—thence 6 to Rubāt Mashk, thence 12 to the city of Abarkūh, thence 13 to Dih Shīr (Lion village), thence 6 to Dih Jawz (Nut village), thence 4 to Kal'at-i-Majūs (Magiau's Castle), thence in 5 farsakhs to the city of Kathah or Yazd, standing in its Jūmah (District, otherwise Hūmah).

Route XXXIII.—Shiraz to Arrajān and Bustānak (L. 201p).—

Shiraz in 5 farsakhs to Juvaym, thence 5 to Khallār, thence 5 to Kharrārah, thence 4 to Kuvār, which is of the district of Tīr Murdān, thence 3 to Karkān, thence 3 to Nawbanjān, thence 4 to Khābadān, thence 6 to Kishish, thence 5 to Gumbadh Mallaghān, thence 4 to Chawhah, thence 4 to Jish, thence 6 to Furzuk, thence 4 to Arrajān, and 4 farsakhs on to Bustānak, which is the frontier of Fārs and Khuzistān.

These stages for the most part are given, in the Arab itineraries, and in the reverse order this is the route followed by Timur when on his march from Shustar to Kal'ah Safid and Shiraz, as given in the *Zafar Nāmah* (i, 600). Juvaym (marked Goyun on the map) and Khullār exist, also the ruins of Nawbanjān or Nawbandajān, which last name the MSS. more often give as Būhanjān or Lāhijān, and in a variety of other mistaken readings. This Nawbanjān, a celebrated city throughout the middle ages, lies some twenty-five miles due north of the ruins of Shāpūr, and was close to the famous valley of Sha'b Bavvān. Our maps now show another Nawbanjān, a village about twenty-five miles distant due west of Shāpūr; this place is not mentioned by the mediæval geographers, and the *city* of Nawbanjān or Nawbandajān must not be confounded with this modern village. Khabūdhān, or Khwāndān, was on the river of that name already mentioned in Chapter 12, and Gumbadh Mallaghān is doubtless the modern Du Gumbadān (Two Domes), near which are some extensive ruins. The remaining stages to Arrajān are difficult to identify, and the MSS. give a variety of readings. Kishish appears as Kish or Mālīsh, Chawhah as Ṣāfah or Ṣā'ighab, Jazrak as Khawrak or Marzak; but the same uncertainty is found in the corresponding Arab itineraries of Ibn Hawkal and Mukaddasi, and as none of these names are now found on the map it is impossible to get to any certainty in the matter.

In conclusion, I have two corrections of some importance to add, which have come to hand since the earlier portions of this paper were published. In the April number (p. 249) it

is stated that "the Urmīyah Lake appears to have been known to Hamd-Allah under the name of Khanjast," and it is added that the spelling of this name is uncertain. Professor P. Horn, of Strassburg, has since written to me that the true reading is *Chichast* (differing from Khanjast only by a variation of the diacritical points), this being a modification of the name given to the Urmīyah Lake in the Avesta where the ancient spelling is *Chāēchasta*. Hence in the *Šāh Nāmah* (Turner-Macan, p. 1860, l. 4, and p. 1927, l. 6 from below) *Chichast* should be read for 'Khanjast.'

The second correction is for the July number (p. 530), in the matter of the true site of Sirjān, the earlier of the two capitals of the Kirmān province. In his recent work *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, which is reviewed on another page, Major P. Molesworth Sykes describes (p. 431) the ruins of a fortress and town called Kal'ah-i-Sang, covering a hill-top, which is some 5 miles to the eastward of Sa'idābād on the road to Bāft. These ruins are also known as Kal'ah-i-Bayzā, 'the White Castle,' and appear beyond reasonable doubt to be those of Sirjān, the fortress of which was destroyed by the orders of Timūr (see J.R.A.S., April, 1901, p. 284). The position of Kal'ah-i-Sang is, it is true, rather more to the westward and further from Kirmān city than the distances given in the Arab geographers would seem to warrant, but this is probably explicable by the very varying estimate given to the *Marhalah*, or Day's March, on which we have to rely when, unfortunately, the stages in farsakhs are not given.



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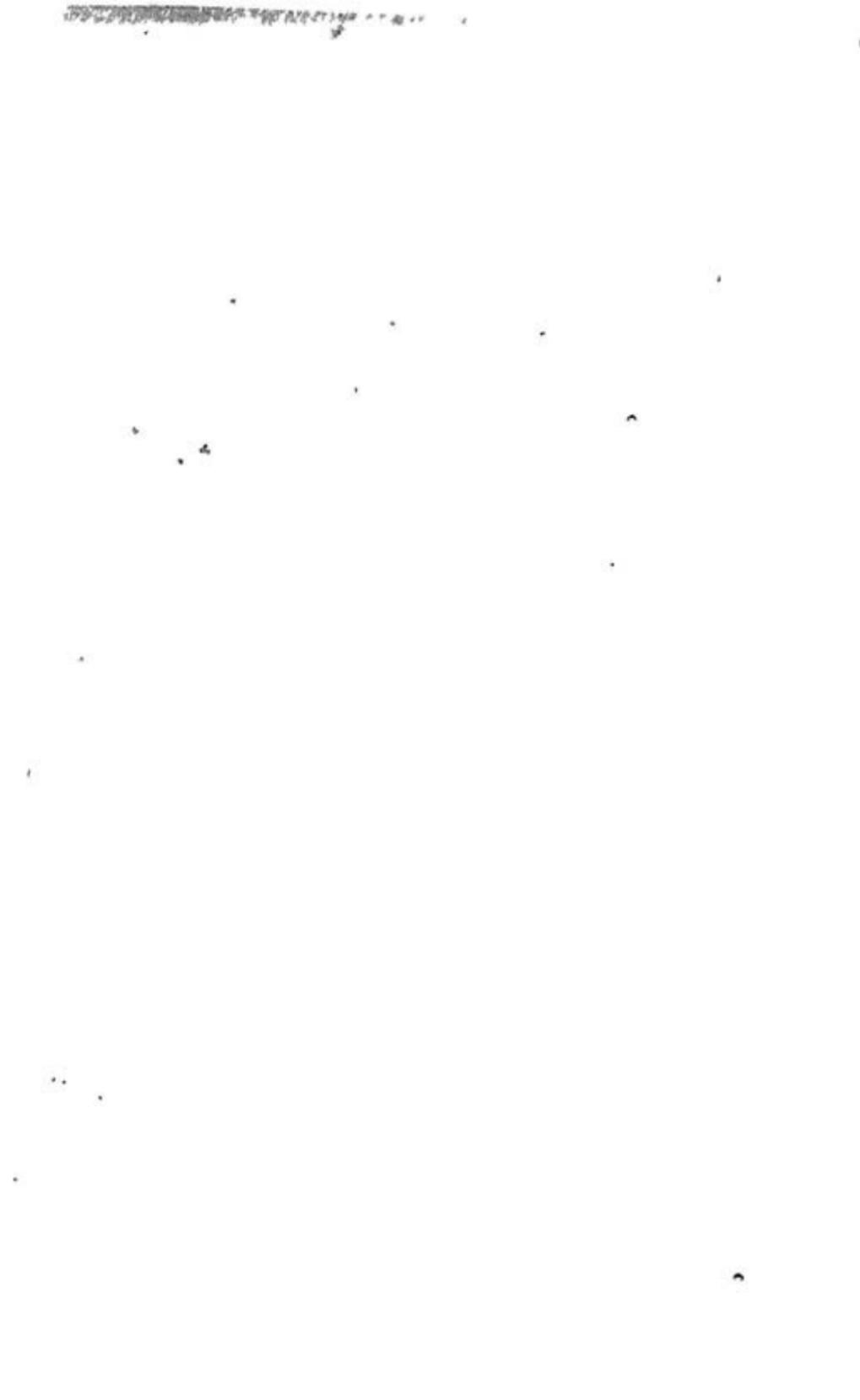
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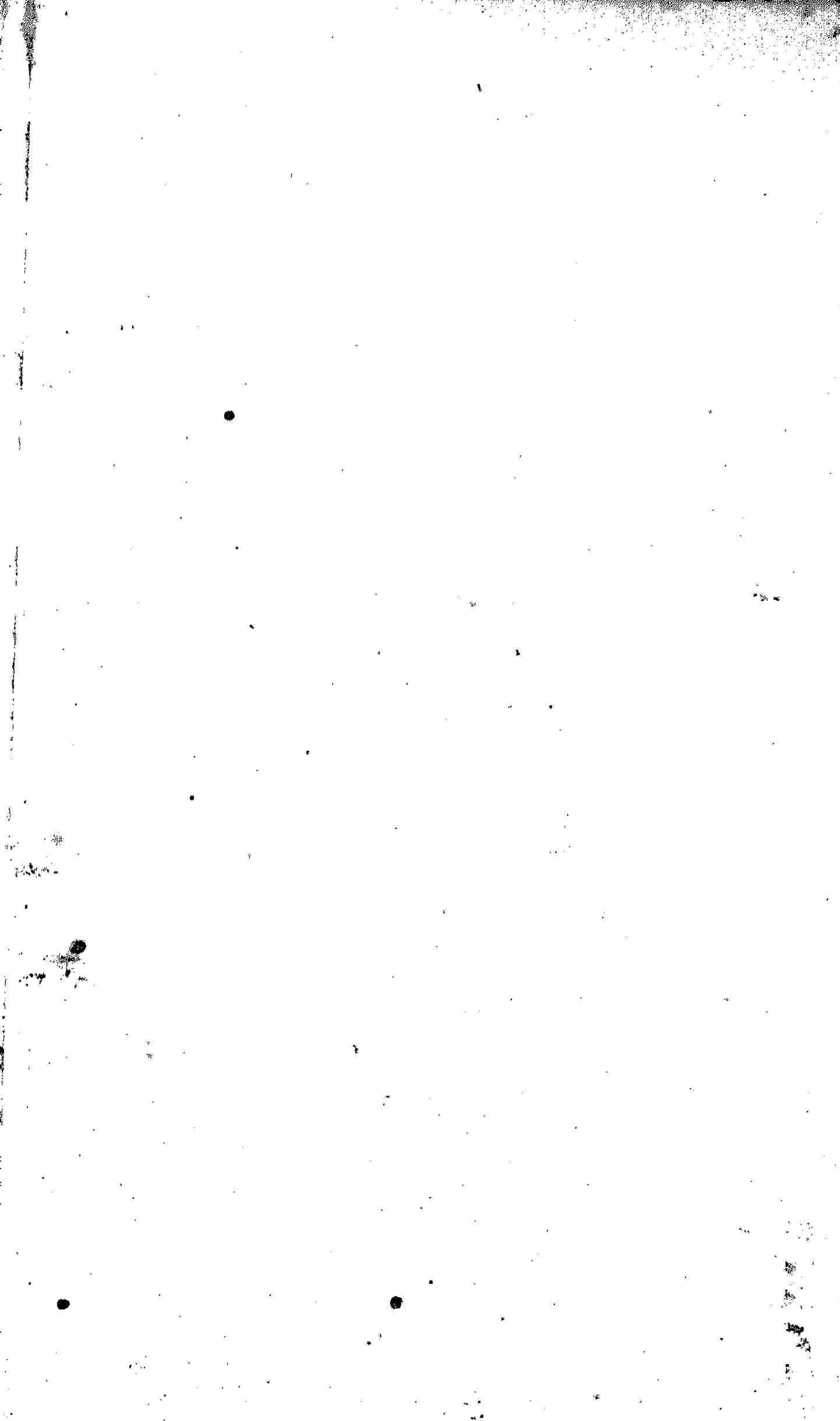
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 Zirkūh, 81.
 Zirrah Lake, 80.
 Ziyārat Būzār, 50.
 Zūfarlū or Zūbarkī, 48.
 Zulū river, 42.
 Zūzan, 86.
-

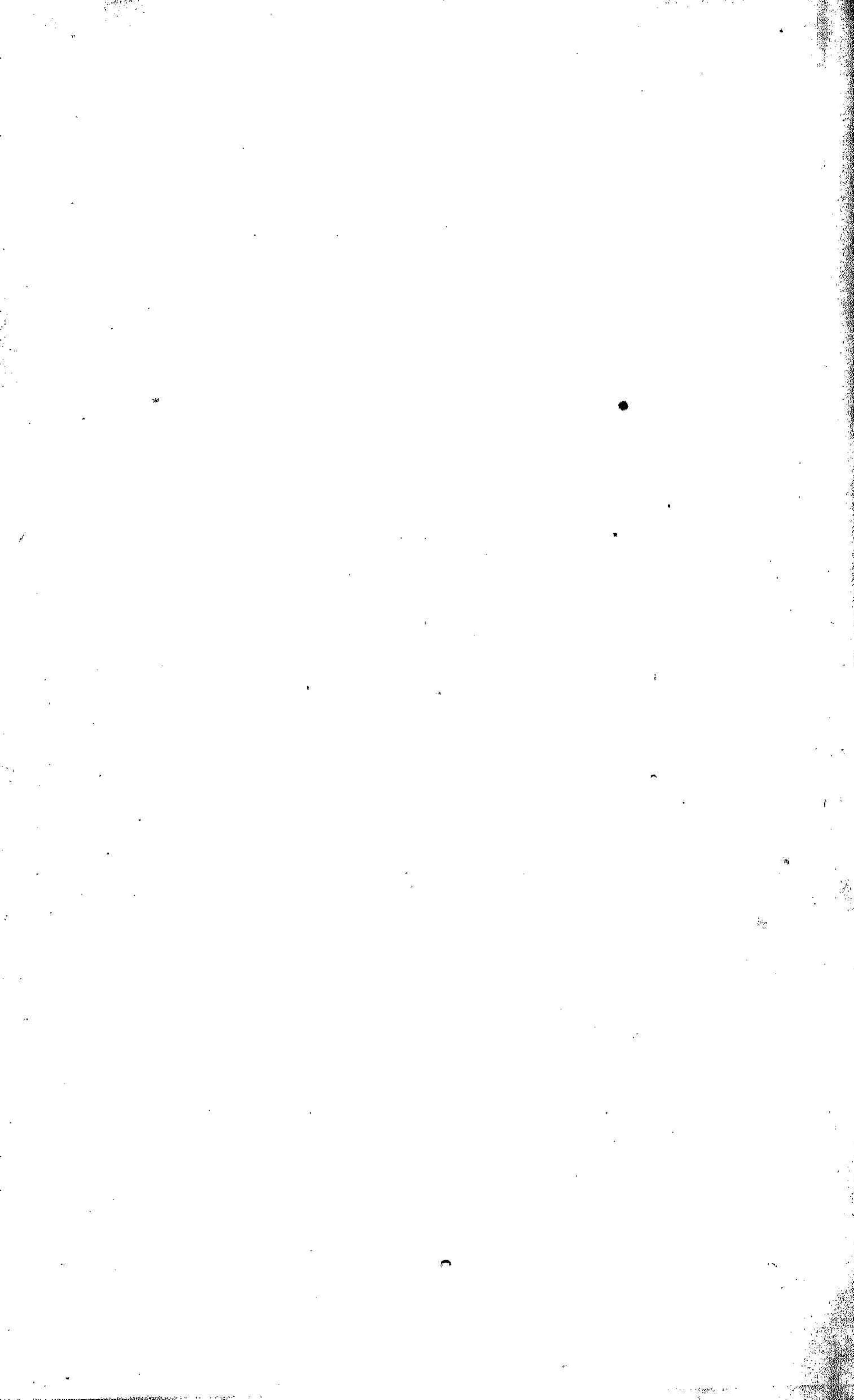


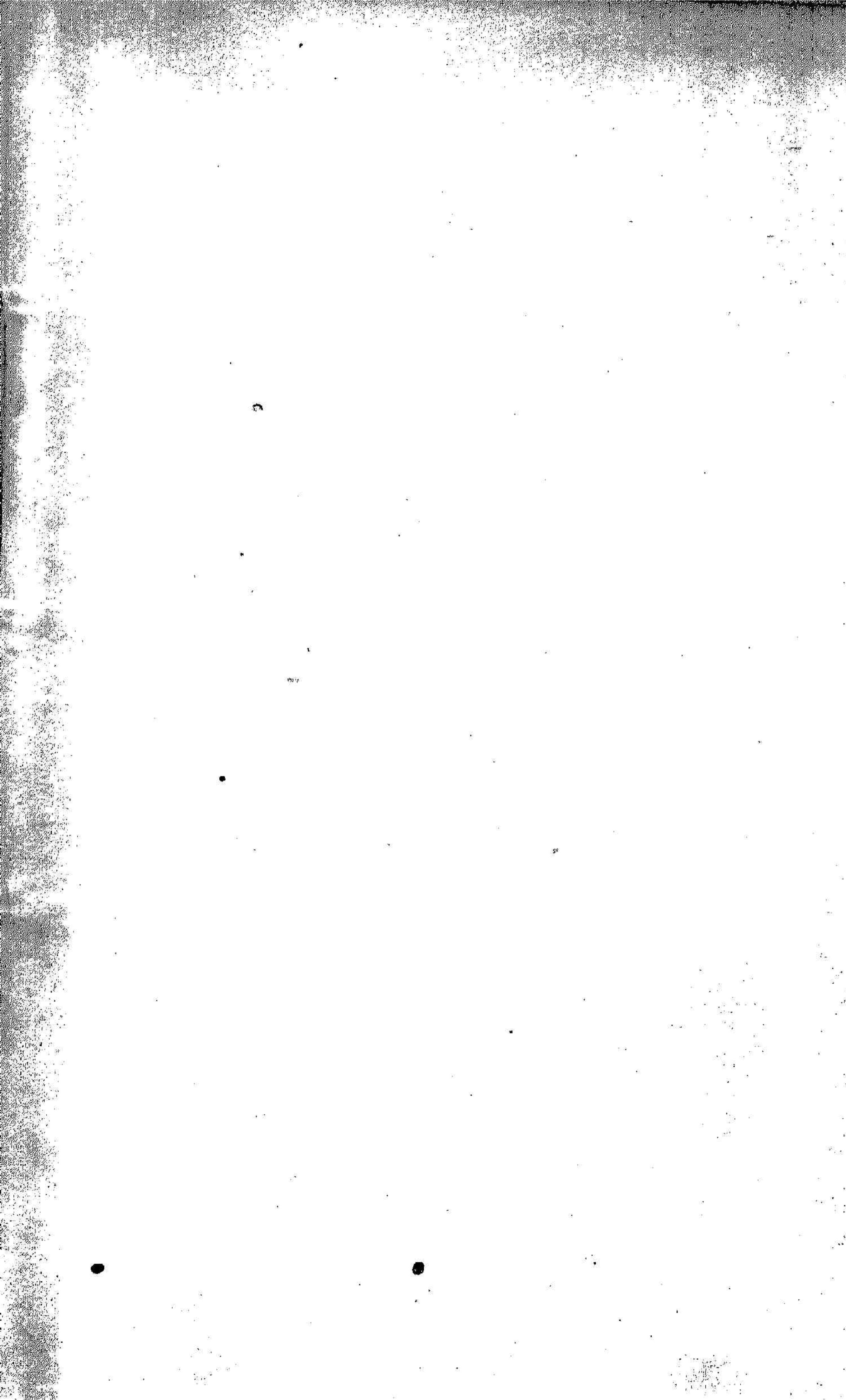












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